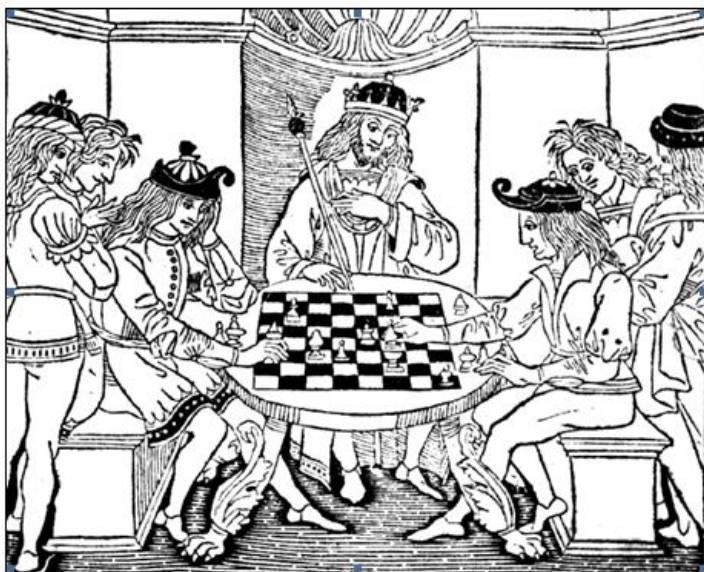


**The Origin of the Checkers
and Modern Chess Game.
Volume II**



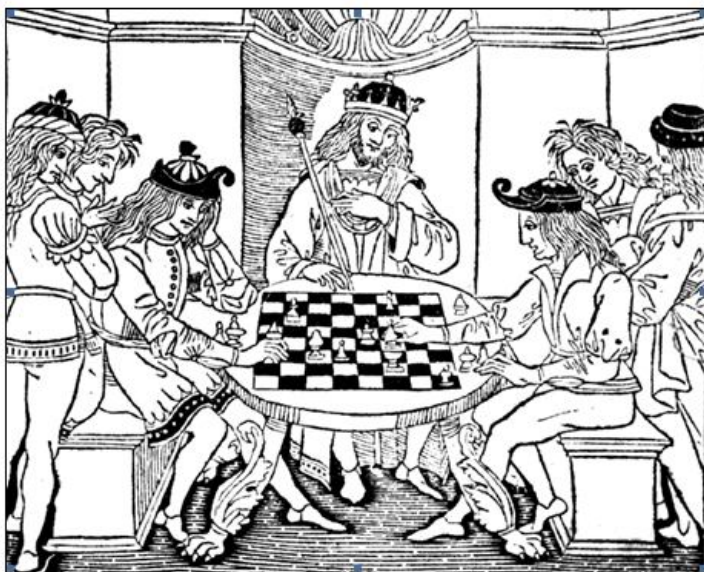
Govert Westerveld

The Origin of the Checkers and Modern Chess Game. Volume II



**GOVERT
WESTERVELD
2017**

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The Origin of the Checkers and Modern Chess Game. Volume II
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Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca

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DEDICATION

May this book be a reflection for all those who regard draughts as a simple game.

Draughts
teaches us to think,
discover, and
search groping for depth in the ocean.

Draughts
is unpredictable, - a dip in the still waters.
Still waters run deep.

Draughts
creates a habit of thought,
the greatest wealth in life -
development of multifaceted intelligence.

Foreword

Until now the different scholars practically limited themselves to indicating France as the country of origin of the draughts game, among them the famous chess scholar Harold James Ruthven Murray¹ is emphasized. With respect to the new powerful dama in the modern chess game that was developed around the end of the XV century, the situation is not much better, since the scholars of this game believe that France, as well as Italy, could be the native countries of this modality of the game, in spite of the fact that the first chess book, Luis Ramirez of Lucena, with such new modality dates from 1497 and is of Spanish origin².

In draughts we see a similar situation, since the first Spanish books about the game³ of draughts have a very high level and date from the XVI century, while the first French book⁴ comes from the XVII century and the game described is a very elemental one. Contrary to this evidence, the scholars did not consider it necessary to grant Spain the honour of being the creative country of the game of draughts and of the new modality in the chess game with the new dama. How is it possible that the different scholars never took into account the rich Spanish bibliography on both games? Was it a linguistic problem or

¹ MURRAY, HAROLD JAMES RUTHVEN. (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford. p. 75.

² LUCENA, LUIS RAMIREZ DE (1497). Repetición de amores e arte de Axedres con CL Juegos de Partido. Salamanca.

³ TORQUEMADA, ANTONIO DE (1547). El ingenio, ò juego de Marro, de punta, ò Damas. Valencia.

⁴ MALLET, PIERRE (1668). Le jeu des dames - *Avec toutes les maximes et règles, tant générales que particulières, qu'il faut observer an icelui. Et la méthode d'y bien jouer*". - Paris.

were there other existing circumstances that forbade this reasoning? In the case of draughts, this could be a reasonable cause for the Dutch scholars that did not master the Spanish language, but not for the English scholar Murray who knew several languages, among them Arabic. On the other hand, regarding the chess game it is difficult to accept that none of them knew the Spanish language. Therefore there had to be other motives for them to deny that Spain could be the country of origin of the new powerful dama in chess. Whatever it may be, there can be several motives, but happily in the last years we have observed a trend of two outstanding scholars that began to modify this point of view.

In the case of the new powerful dama in the chess game in Spain we rely on an outstanding chess investigator, Dr. Ricardo Calvo, who, since the eighties defends Spain as being the country of origin of the new powerful dama in the game of chess⁵. His investigations and discoveries of ancient written chess manuscripts from the XV century make it possible to assert that this new property is of Spanish origin⁶.

With respect to the draughts game we must not forget to mention Ir. Gerard Bakker of Utrecht (Holland), who with an initial work in 1983

⁵ CALVO, RICARDO (1985a). Un nuevo manuscrito de ajedrez del siglo XV. Revista Jaque. San Sebastián Año XV. Núm. 173. 15 de abril, pp 252-253.

CALVO, RICARDO (1985b). Ein neues Schachmanuskript aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Europa Rochade. Maintal. N.3, p. 28.

CALVO, RICARDO (1985c). Un nouveau manuscrit échiquéen du XV siècle. Europe Échecs. Besançon. N. 319-320. juillet - Août, pp 434-435.

⁶ CALVO, RICARDO (1991). Birthplace of modern chess. New in Chess, Alkmaar (Holanda). Núm. 7:82-89.

CALVO, RICARDO (1992). Valencia, Geburtsstätte des modernen Schachs. Schach-Journal. Berlin. Núm. 3:34-46.

CALVO, RICARDO & MEISSENBURG, EGBERT (1995). Valencia und die Geburt des neuen Schachs. Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften, Wien, pp 77-89.

and another advanced one in 1987 praises the Spanish⁷ origin of draughts from the alquerque and chess game. Those were good starting points, but still there were remaining dark points in the solidity of this hypothesis.

This is, humbly speaking, the purpose of this book, to seek evidence and to situate Spain in an outstanding place that it naturally deserves. For such effect we chronologically treat the texts studied between 1283 and 1700, gathering more than 950 bibliographical references that can be more easily consulted by future scholars.

From 1986 we maintain the hypothesis that the origin of the game of draughts is a Spanish one and to such effect we have sought answers and evidence for some 10 years. We started on the basis of the fact that the chess game reflects the royal situation of a time. So we can ask ourselves why the queen in the modern chess game has more power than the king. If we study the life of Spanish royalty in the XV century we see that this question is not so difficult to answer. There was, in 1469 a dama in Castille that was married to a future king of Aragon, Fernando. Some years later, in 1475, this dama, Isabel la Católica, was crowned queen with greater effective power than her husband, Fernando. So much, so that when Spain in 1492 was released from the last Moorish outpost in Granada, discovering America and enforcing one sole religion in its territory, it was suddenly justified to use in chess a new queen with more power than her "king". But, concerning the name "dama", what is its origin? We know that the word "domina" was already translated in the XIV century by the French word "dame" in chess manuscripts and it is supposed that in the XV century, due to the influence of the printed books of Jacobus of Cessolis, one began to use frequently in Spain the dama term for the queen in chess. But was it not also due to the idealization

⁷ BAKKER, IR. GERARD (1983). Draughts magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 44.

BAKKER, IR. GERARD (1987). Draughts magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 42-46.

of the woman to dama in court poetry, where the supremacy of the dama is one of the characteristics of the frustrated love?

The new modality of the game in chess was given several names abroad. Thus, we see contemptuous terms as: "alla rabiosa" in the Italian translation and of "dame enragée" in the French translation. In Spain we see a neutral term: "Axedrez de la dama". Motive by which we also believe that France as well as Italy cannot be the country of origin of this new type of chess. Other historians asked themselves how it was possible that this peculiarity of the game could be introduced and maintained in all the European countries. This is not so difficult to explain if we take into account the fact that in 1492 Spain banished some 250.000 Jews from its land, who were distributed all over Europe with all its political and economic influence. Furthermore, the Spanish king Carlos V spent more time away from Spain than within its boundaries in function of the defence of the Spanish hegemony in Europe.

The new "powerful" dama of the chess game would have much to do with the invention of draughts and with the use of this new piece. To such effect we have chronologically treated in this work the bibliographical texts, whose commentaries are mostly translated into Dutch. The original texts are basically Spanish, though we have not forgotten to mention the most notable foreign books in Latin, German, English, French, Italian and Dutch.

The first chapter deals with ancient Egyptian games, since they were considered erroneously by some scholars⁸ as precursors of the dama. In the same chapter reference is made to the "Ludus Latrunculorum" game, that was taken by Thomas Hyde⁹ as antecedent of the draughts-game. Below are described similar games to the now disappeared "Ludus Latrunculorum", some of those which still exist. Chapter two describes a board game with squares

⁸ WILKINSON, JOHN GARDNER (1878). The manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. Edition of Samuel Birch, London.

⁹ HYDE, THOMAS (1694). De Ludis Orientalibus, Oxford. Volume II.

(alternatively white and yellow?) the "Jaldeta", that was forbidden in the XIII century and was no longer practised around the end of the XV century. In chapter three we see ourselves in the Spain of the XV century, being able to observe the general influence of the Queen "Isabel la Católica". We discuss the expulsion of the Jews and the conversion of the Moors to the catholic religion. It was between 1474 and 1492 when the new powerful dama was developed and this time it can be considered as a dormant stage. The definitive beginning originated in 1492 when the queen was at the height of her reign : 1. Conquest of the Morish outpost "Granada"; 2. Discovery of America; 3. Expulsion of the Jews; 4. Loss of power of the nobility due to the administrative reforms.

In chapter 4 the Latin terms "scruporum" and "calcolorum" are examined. In the subsequent chapters (5, 6, 7, 8,) Spanish words, which previously were designated to the draughts-game, such as "marro", "marro de punta", "andarraya" and "alquerque" are studied in detail. We demonstrate with bibliographical proofs that "punta" does not mean field, as Branch¹⁰, Murray¹¹, Kruijswijk¹² and Van der Stoep¹³ claim, rather "punta" means diagonal. Thus the game "marro de punta" is nothing more than a game with a diagonal direction. The denominations "marro" and "marro de punta" belong to the kingdom of Aragon and those of "andarraya" and "alquerque" to the kingdom of Castille.

¹⁰ BRANCH, WILLIAM SHELLEY (1911). The history of checkers from the earliest known date. Its evolution and growth, Cheltenham, England. Written for Pittsburg Leader between October 8, 1911 - April 14, 1912.

¹¹ MURRAY, HAROLD JAMES RUTHVEN (1913). A history of chess, Oxford, p. 399.

MURRAY, HAROLD JAMES RUTHVEN. (1952) A history of Board-games other than chess, Oxford, p. 75.

¹² KRUIJSWIJK, KAREL WENDEL (1966). Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel, Den Haag, p. 53.

¹³ STOEP, ARIE VAN DER (1984). A history of draughts, Rockanje, p. 81.

The ancient word "trecha", that years afterwards was converted into "treta", is analyzed in chapter 9 of Volume II. Apparently the word "castro" (castles game) had a certain link to draughts in Turkey and Palestinian. In chapter 10 this expression is studied in detail. In chapter 11 of Volume II we extensively analyze the Latin term "domina" and the word "dama". In the conclusion of this chapter different modalities of draughts in different countries are described. Also, in the following chapter the lost book of Antonio de Torquemada is examined. In 13 a vast study on the book of Juan de Timoneda, printed in 1635, is discussed. According to our investigations some of those texts could date from 1550. It is quite possible that some of the positions of draughts that appear in this book will be similar to those which are described in the book of Torquemada.

The Spanish draughts books between 1547 and 1996 and the first European draughts books are discussed in chapter 14 of Volume II, as well as the Spanish game books of the period of 1283-1700. At the beginning of the XIX century, Jose Paluzie y Lucena established the first Spanish bibliographical study of chess¹⁴.

In this modest text we do something similar with draughts. To the existing bibliographical lists in other history books about draughts we can add a draughts book of 1792¹⁵ found by Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes¹⁶ and a manuscript of the year 1690 we found in an Andalusian library¹⁷. Until now a complete relationship among all the Spanish books, referred to the games in the period 1283-1700, had not been established. Thus our investigations could fill that vacuum. In chapter 15 of Volume II hypothesis of other draughts scholars are submitted to discussion and furthermore a point of view is offered on the development of the game of alquerque of 12 up to

¹⁴ PALUZIE Y LUCENA, JOSÉ (1912). Primer ensayo de bibliografía Española de ajedrez, Barcelona 1912, pp. 8-11.

¹⁵ GARCIA, JOSEF ANTONIO (1792). Garcia juego de Damas (...), Murcia.

¹⁶ WESTERVELD, GOVERT (1992). Draughts magazine: *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 87.

¹⁷ CANONIGO, EL (1750?). Libro de Juego de Damas, Granada.

our current draughts. Much evidence exists to assert that Valencia could be the kingdom of origin of draughts, similar to the powerful dama in the chess game, according to the opinion of the chess scholar Dr. Ricardo Calvo. Finally, the Spanish bibliophile of Spanish draughts books, Victor Cantalapiedra Martin, expounds in Spanish language, his knowledge of the said books in chapter 16 of Volume II.

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¹⁸ WESTERVELD, GOVERT (1994). *Homo Ludens, Der Spielende Mensch* IV.

Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule







Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg.

WESTERVELD, GOVERT (1996). *Homo Ludens. El hombre que juega. Volume 1. Instituto para la Investigación y la Pedagogía del Juego. Salzburg.*

encouraging me to continue publishing; the Spanish draughtsbook bibliophile, Victor Cantalapiedra Martín, who taught me to play the Spanish draughts game and informed me little by little the secrets of his extensive library, and made available to me a great quantity of bibliographical material and photos. More people have collaborated in the preparation of this book and it is not possible to mention all of them. Nevertheless, we do not want to forget Prof. Dr. Joachim Petzold (Germany), Mr. Felix Berkovich (U.S.A), the Dutch draughts scholars Karel Wendel Kruijswijk and Drs. Arie van der Stoep, Dr. Pratesi (Italy), Dr. Adriano Chicco (Italy), the Portuguese draughts scholars Dr. Cândido Sena Carneiro and Francisco Henriques, and Flory Navarro Belmonte (Licensed in Medieval History by the University of Murcia). Thanks to all of them!

Govert Westerveld

Historians about draughts

		
José Brunet y Bellet	Dr. Manuel Cárcelos Sabater	William Shelley Branch
		
Edward B. Hanes	Godefridus Laurentius Gortmans	Harold James Ruthven Murray

Historians about draughts

		
Karel Wendel Kruijswijk	Ir. Gerard Bakker	Dr. Arie van der Stoep

		
Dr. Franco Pratesi	Rob Jansen	Dr. Govert Westerveld

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Calendar sheet of 1678

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Introduction.

Since 1987 we have defended in articles that the Spanish queen Isabella I of Castile (Isabel la Católica) was the new chess queen (dama) on the chessboard. Other publications were in 1990, 1994, 1997, and 2004. Now in 2015 we also defend that the new bishop on the chessboard was created at the same time as the new queen. The bishop in question was known at that time in Spain as the third monarch.

In 1997 we published in the Dutch¹⁹ Language:

De invloed van de Spaanse koningin Isabel la Catolica op de nieuwe sterke dame in de oorsprong van het dam- en moderne schaakspel; Spaanse literatuur, jaren: 1283-1700

Translation:

The influence of the queen Isabel la Catolica on the new powerful dama in the origin of the draughts and modern chess game. Spanish literature, 1283-1700.

And of course, Marilyn Yalom studied our book during her visit to the National Library in The Hague (Holland) before she wrote *Birth of the Chess Queen* in 2004. In her book one cannot see that in 1987, 1990, and 1994 we already published material about Isabel la Catolica (Isabel I of Castile) being the new powerful dama or chess queen on the chessboard²⁰. In other words we can state here that we have been

¹⁹ (1997). De invloed van de Spaanse koningin Isabel la Catolica op de nieuwe sterke dame in de oorsprong van het dam- en moderne schaakspel; Spaanse literatuur, jaren: 1283-1700. In collaboration with Rob Jansen, Beniel (Spain). ISBN 84-605-6372-3 - 329 pages.

²⁰ (1987) Dutch Draughts Magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel, p. 71.

(1990) Las Damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero. Volume I. Editor Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, S.A. (PPU S.A.) – Barcelona. ISBN 84-7665-697-0

(1994) Historia de la nueva dama poderosa en el juego de Ajedrez y Damas. (History of the New Powerful Queen in the Game of Chess and Draughts), pp. 103-225. Homo Ludens: Der spielende Mensch IV, Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für

studying Spanish history and its chess literature for over 30 years. Since 2003 we have also known the development of the new bishop in chess. Now in 2015 we also defend by means of our book *The Birth of a New Bishop in Chess* the fact that the new bishop on the chessboard was created at the same time as the new queen. The bishop in question was known in Spain at the time as the third monarch.

The surname Lucena had much to do with the development of a new chess queen and seeing this fact we have lately written various books of which the chronological²¹ order should be taken into account.

Once again Dr. Ricardo Calvo encouraged José Antonio Garzón Roger to contact and work with me. After the death of our mutual friend in 2002 we started working together and this resulted in additional chapters to the book already published in 1997. The new book that we finished in 2004 is entitled²²

La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas

Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule "Mozarteum" - Salzburg. Herausgegeben von Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer.

(1994) Homo Ludens, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg, Salzburg.

²¹ (2015) The Ambassador Juan Ramírez de Lucena, the father of the chessbook writer Lucena. 226 pages. ISBN: 978-1-326-37728-1

(2015) The Training of Isabella I of Castile as the Virgin Mary by Churchman Martin de Cordoba in 1468. The Association of the Virgin Mary with the French Chess Piece "Dame" 172 pages.

ISBN: 978-1-326-40364-5

(2015) The Poem Scachs d'amor (1475). First Text of Modern Chess. - 144 pages.

ISBN: 978-1-326-37491-4

(2015) The Birth of a New Bishop in Chess - 172 pages.

ISBN: 978-1-326-37044-2

²² (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. Edition of the Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport. Secretaria Autònoma de Cultura, Valencia.

Translation:

Queen Isabella I of Castile, her reflection on the powerful lady of Valencia, the birthplace of modern chess and origin of checkers.

The revised edition of our book of 1997 and that one of 2004 resulted in three volumes, of which the second volume currently is in creation.

My hypothesis about Isabella of Castile

Already in the eighties when I published many English articles in the Dutch draughts magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel* I was convinced about the fact that the new powerful Dama in the draughts/checkers and chess game had to do with the Spanish Queen Isabella of Castile. Much more research was needed in this field, but I wanted to be the first with my hypothesis and idea. For that reason I instructed Mr. Jesús Silvente to make a good drawing of Isabella in front of a Spanish draughts board. This drawing was published in 1990 in my first Spanish draughts book²³ written with the help of Mrs. Florentina Navarro Belmonte, who was licensed in the medieval history and in charge of revision of my Spanish texts. The title in the drawing “La Reina de las Damas” (The Queen of the Damas) does not produce misunderstandings. According to my research she was the woman of the two damas - one of chess and one of the Spanish draughts game. Isabella of Castile was more important than the King and the central figure with the dama in chess and with the dama in the draughts game. Years later Van der Stoep²⁴ erroneously informs his readers in his book of 2005 that Calvo wrote about Isabella of Castile in 1990 with regards to the powerful lady in chess, but this is not correct, since

²³ NAVARRO BELMONTE, Florentina & WESTERVELD, Govert (1990) *Las Damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero*. Tomo I. Editor Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, S.A. (PPU S.A.) – Barcelona. ISBN 84-7665-697-0

²⁴ STOEP, Arie van der (2005) *Draughts in relation to chess and Alquerque*, p. 20

Calvo²⁵ wrote his first English article in 1991 and not in 1990 as I did²⁶. Van der Stoep refers only to my work of 1997 with respect to Isabella of Castile, forgetting to inform about my articles from 1987²⁷, 1988²⁸, my draughts book of 1990, and my article from 1994²⁹. On the other hand he mentions my book of 2004³⁰ and does not mention the book of Ricardo Calvo³¹. It is necessary to point this out, because I know from experience that there are always deceivers who intend to take the credit for others.

²⁵ **CALVO, Ricardo** (1991) Valencia, Birthplace of modern chess. In: New in chess, N° 7, pp. 82-87 and 89

²⁶ **NAVARRO BELMONTE, Florentina & WESTERVELD, Govert** (1990) Las Damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero. Tomo I. Editor Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, S.A. (PPU S.A.) – Barcelona. ISBN 84-7665-697-0

²⁷ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1987) Dutch draughts magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, p. 71. I said: “How was it possible that the dama (queen) suddenly received such a high value in chess and dama? We do not know the reason, but we should bear in mind that many Spaniards think of Isabella as their greatest ruler”. As from 1987 I was looking for proofs for my hypothesis.

²⁸ **WESTERVELD, GOVERT** (1988) Dutch draughts magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, p. 29. Why was Isabella of Castile such an important person? She convinced her husband to provide money to Columbus to discover the New World. She persuaded her husband of the need of one religion, to baptize or expel the Jews and to conquer Granada. This queen on horseback was visiting her soldiers throughout their territory. She was really more a general than a Queen and in any case a more important figure than her husband, King Ferdinand.

²⁹ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1994) Historia de la nueva dama poderosa en el juego de Ajedrez y Damas. (History of the new powerful Queen in the game of chess and draughts), pages 103-124. Homo Ludens: Der spielende Mensch IV, Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule "Mozarteum" - Salzburg. Herausgegeben von Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer

³⁰ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Autonómica de Cultura

³¹ **CALVO, RICARDO** (1999) El Poema scachs d'amor (siglo XV). First preserved text about modern chess. Analysis and comments by Ricardo Calvo. Editorial Jaque XXI, S.L. – Madrid, with prologue by José Antonio Garzón Roger, p. 65

The two chess books written in 1495 by Francesch Vicent in Valencia and in 1497 by Lucena in Salamanca showing the new chess game were part of the proof of that. On the other hand the first Spanish draughts books were written in 1547, 1591, 1591, 1635, and 1650. Finally, after more than a hundred years we see appear the first draughts book in France written by the engineer Mallet in 1668. Given the fact that Spain had a clear lead in knowledge of the draughts and chess game over its nearest rival France it was time to change the history of the draughts and chess game. Researchers such as the famous Englishman and board game specialist Harold James Ruthven Murray, the Dutchman Karel Wendel Kruijswijk, and Dr. Arie van der Stoep believed only in France being the inventor of the draughts/checkers game. Save to say the chess game, which practically everybody believed that was invented in France or Italy.

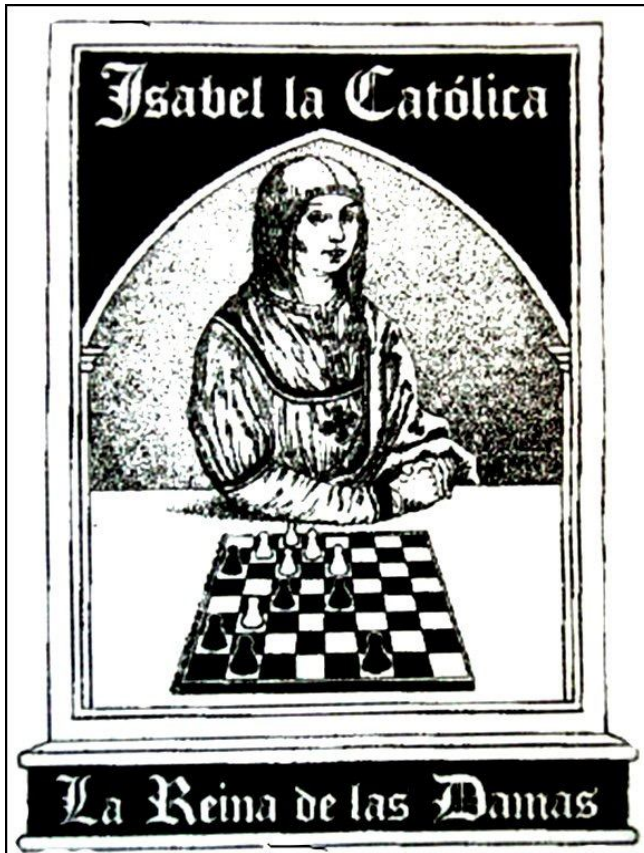
However, I did not consider it to be a true reflection of the real situation. So the first step in my protest was the simple drawing of Queen Isabella of Castile as the Queen of the Damas, because the Dama in the draughts game and the Dama in the chess game completely changed these two games. Isabella of Castile (Isabel la Católica) was the cause of the chess game changing completely and it was her influence that made people in Valencia invent the draughts/checkers game.

Suddenly something was happening in the chess world too, because Dr. Ricardo Calvo, a famous chess historian, also dared to state the following in one of his explosive articles in 1991³²:

The new moves of the queen coexist with literary activities in which the feminine figure acquires new preeminence, as was evident in literary contests honouring the Virgin. At the same time a powerful queen, Isabella of Castile, was playing a prominent political role esteemed to be at least as important as that of her husband Ferdinand of Aragon. The decision of changing the rules of movement of the old medieval queen into the new powerful queen of modern chess may be explicable in this cultural atmosphere, though this point

³² **CALVO, Ricardo** (1991) France, Birthplace in modern chess. In: New in chess, Nº 7, pp. 82-87 and 89

is, and will remain, a matter of speculation.



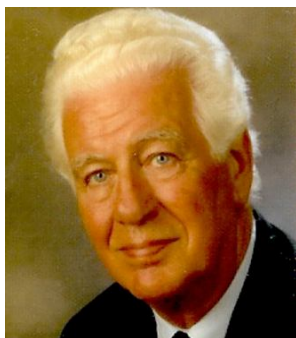
A drawing in my Draughts book of 1990

But to me Calvo's idea was only based on intuition as a result of long research and proofs still had to be given. Our friendship dates from 1991 and in 1992 he wrote a short introduction in my second draughts book, of which I only translate part of my text relating to Queen Isabella of Castile, because we both were feeling her presence in the chess and draughts games³³.

³³ WESTERVELD, Govert (1992) Las Damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero. Tomo II, Beniel, p. 7

The origins of the game of checkers (draughts) and its fascinating historical and cultural context are still partially unveiled. Some of these veils hint at yet a very specific backdrop: The second half of the fifteenth century and the figure of Queen as Isabella of Castile, both on the chessboard as being the greatest one in politics, printed a deep mark that has served as a mould to different ideas engendered in her environment. The game consists of jumping over squares and lines on a board or limits of a human geography hitherto regarded as fixed. It is almost immaterial, both mounted. To the spirits of that time there existed an endless transformative potential at the edges of the explored things, a way without turning back leading to the promotion of each human or symbolic piece who dared to take the edge of the frame of established moves.

My next Spanish article³⁴ was in 1994 to defend the position of Isabella of Castile. I was invited in 1993 by Dr. Ricardo Calvo to visit the Congress of chess historians of Initiative Group Königstein (IGK) in Amsterdam.



Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer

There I met in November 1993 the best chess historian in Europe in the Max Euwe-Centrum, and also Professor Günther Bauer from

³⁴ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1994) Historia de la nueva dama poderosa en el juego de Ajedrez y Damas. (History of the new powerful Queen in the game of chess and draught), pages 103-124. Homo Ludens: Der spielende Mensch IV, Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule "Mozarteum" - Salzburg. Herausgegeben von Prof. Mag. Dr. Günther C. Bauer

Salzburg who invited me to write an article about the history of draughts and queen Isabella of Castile in his book of 1994. Thereafter I spent some years writing my hypothesis about Isabella of Castile³⁵ by means of my book in 1997 in Dutch. Although I was invited several times to participate in the Congress of the Group Königstein I decided not to participate, because I wanted to maintain my condition of independent researcher. Although I tried to win Ricardo Calvo over my idea of Isabella of Castile, I observed that Calvo did not exploit the idea of Isabella of Castile (in which he also believed) further, and this was my feeling about opposition of the Initiative Group Königstein Congress that did not believe in the hypothesis of Isabel la Católica. This is normal, because we may consider the Initiative Group Königstein as a select group of chess historians, and among them we find some of the best chess historians in the world, and things need time. We see the same thing in Spanish universities, where the professors continue using the name of Luis de Lucena as that of the author of a chess book of 1497, while I have told them several time that this name is not correct and should be simply “Lucena”.

On the other hand I also informed them that the first draughts book written in Valencia in 1547 never could have been Antonio de Torquemada’s and should be Juan de Timoneda’s. They do not believe that and continue using Antonio de Torquemada. *Anyone who has spent decades in cloisters and universities can gauge the amount of routine and pusillanimity which thrives on them* are the words of a very good friend of mine, professor emeritus and writer of more than 70 books based on historical research. Things need time.

³⁵ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1997), La influencia de la reina Isabel la Católica sobre la nueva dama poderosa en el origen del juego de las damas y el ajedrez moderno. En colaboración con Rob Jansen, Amsterdam. (Prólogo de Dr. Ricardo Calvo y Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes). Editor Govert Westerveld, Beniel. ISBN 84-605-6372-3

No matter where you are born,
what matters is where you are fighting
Anonym

9. TRECHA

In the draughts book of Juan de Timoneda (1635) we regularly find the word *trecha*. This is also the case with the first two chapters of the book by Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591) that was published in Valencia, because in the third chapter the term *trata* (trick) is also used. Lorenzo Valls³⁶ (1597) speaks of *treta* instead of *trecha*, in agreement with the draughts books of later dates where the word *treta* is always used. It seems that at the end of the 16th century the word *trecha* fell into disuse. *Trecha* is used in Timoneda's book in the meaning of movement and trick.

The etymology of the word *trecha*.

We find the following in the *Vocabulario Medieval Castellano*³⁷ (Cejador, 1929):

Diego Sanchez de Badajoz (1525-1547) 1, p. 250

Al ajedrez trechas falsas³⁸ (To chess false ceilings).

This author wrote a satirical composition called: *Matraca de jugadores*.

Luis Barahona de Soto (1548-1595),

p. 618

look for another path where the game will result in a victory³⁹.

³⁶ VALLS, Lorenzo (1597) *Libro del Juego de las Damas, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta*, Valencia. - (Biblioteca del Palacio, Madrid)

³⁷ CEJADOR Y FRANCA, Julio (1929) *Vocabulario medieval castellano*, Madrid. (New York 1971)

³⁸ SÁNCHEZ DE BADAJOZ, Diego (1554) *Recopilación en metro del Bachiller Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, en la qual por gracioso, cortesano y pastoril estilo se cuentan y declaran muchas figuras y autoridades de la sagrada scriptura*, Sevilla.

Lope de Rueda (1510-1565)⁴⁰

Registr. 2, p. 596

Señor Cazorla, aquí te habemos sacado para que nos des alguna licióncita, porque como nosotros somos nuevos en el oficio, queríamos de ti que nos enseñases algunas trechas sotiles de las que tu sabes.

Loose translation

Lord Cazorla, here we have taken you to give us some lessons, because as we are new in the profession, we wanted you to teach us some of the subtle tricks that you know.

Diego de Sanchez Badajoz, (1525-1547)

2, p. 13: (Sánchez, 1554)

En fin ¿que no basta trecha, tejado, pared ni barda? obra, labor⁴¹.

(Esto dice una mujer a un religioso que insinúa que ella no fuese fiel a su marido).

Loose translation:

In short, that is not enough: a trick, a roof, a wall, or a fence? Work, labor.

(This tells a woman to a religious who insinuates that she was not faithful to her husband).

El libro de Alexandre⁴²

Strofe 726 = 681 (Alexandre, 1934)

³⁹ **BARAHONA DE SOTO, Luis** (1903) *Estudio biográfico y crítico por Francisco Rodríguez Marín*, Madrid

⁴⁰ **RUEDA, Lope de** (1570) *El Deleitoso y Registro de Representantes*, Valencia

⁴¹ **SÁNCHEZ DE BADAJOZ, Diego** (1554) Recopilación en metro del Bachiller Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, en la qual por gracioso, cortesano y pastoril estilo se cuentan y declaran muchas figuras y autoridades de la sagrada scriptura, Sevilla

⁴² **ALEXANDRE, EL LIBRO DE** (1934) Edition Raymond S. Willis jr, Princeton

Muchos dezien que Paris/ fezeria cosa derecha vieno a los otros/ grant mal sin sospecha andavan aullando/todos con la contrecha e nunca sus dias/ fizo tan buena trecha.

Loose translation:

Many said that Paris / did the right thing to the others / great evil without suspicion they were all howling / with the *contrecha* and never in his days / he did so a good trick.

Alonso reflects in his dictionary⁴³:

Trecha (1. tracta, t.f. de -tus) f.s. XII obra, labor. Alexandre (c. 1240 - 50), 681 // 2. s. SV trocha.

Alonso indicated in a previously⁴⁴ written dictionary:

Trecha (1. tracta, t.f. de -tus) f.s. XVI ab XX. Treta S. Badaj., Y-250// 2. s. XII obra, labor. Alex. 681 // 3. s. XV al XVII trocha Carvajal: Bibl. esp. VI, 26

⁴³ **ALONSO, Martín** (1986) *Diccionario Medieval Español desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silenses (S. X) hasta el siglo XV*, Salamanca

⁴⁴ **ALONSO, Martín** (1958) *Enciclopedia del idioma I*, Madrid

DESCRIPTIONS OF *TRECHA* IN THE LITERATURE

1495 ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA

Nebrija indicated in his famous dictionary⁴⁵: (Nebrija, 1495)

Trecho o trocha	Tractus. us	
Alquerque	Calculorum ludus	
Andarraia	Calculorum ludus	NOVUM
Dama es casi señora	Domina-ae	NOVUM
Juego de Axedrez	Calculorum ludus	
Trebejo de axedrez	Calculus calculi	

1517, HERNANDO ALONSO DE HERRERA

Hernando Alonso de Herrera was a Spanish humanist who lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Born around 1460 in Talavera de la Reina, he probably went to the University of Salamanca where Antonio de Nebrija was a teacher. For some years he chaired rhetoric and grammar at the University of Alcalá de Henares, which he left in 1513. In 1517 he also chaired rhetoric at the University of Salamanca. He continued to live in this city until his death in 1528. Various works appeared from his hand⁴⁶.

One of his works was *Disputatio adversus Aristotelem aristotelicosque sequaces*. This work was dedicated to Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros and is bilingual. The Latin text is on the even-numbered pages and the Castilian text on the odd-numbered pages.

⁴⁵ **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495) *Dictionarium hispano-latinum*, Salamanca. (Reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española -Diccionario Romance (español) en latin. There are editions in: 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris, and 1513 in Madrid.

⁴⁶ **ENCYCLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA** (1980), volume 27, p. 1268

Adolfo Bonilla and San Martin dedicated a deep and erudite investigation to this writer⁴⁷.

Acto segundo: Diego de Herrera y Maestro Pedro. Es el lugar de diferentes, y el aparato en celaren. (page 123)

Pues quiero hacer como en el juego del ajedrez o alquer, «et in ludo latrunculorum calculorumque» que, cuando la primera parte se maravilla como le han vencido, vuelvanse a retratar todos los *trechos* que han pasado. Así agora, que estais espantado como os he concluido, repitase por orden lo pasado, porque, si de algo os arrepentis, os heceis de ello, y lo que habeis confesado vaya por ho no dicho. Ca esta nuestra disputa no es contiendas, sino busqueda de la verdad...”

Loose translation:

Well, I want to do as in the game of chess or alquer, «et in ludo latrunculorum calculorumque», that when the first part marvels how he has lost, he again retracts all the moves done. So now that you are frightened as I have finished, repeat the moves done in order, because, if you repent of something, you become aware of it, and what you have confessed is not spoken. Because our dispute is not a contest, but a search for the truth ... "

Here *trecho* was used in the meaning of *trecha*. The word *trecho* is found in Nebrija's above-mentioned dictionary, but not the word *trecha*!



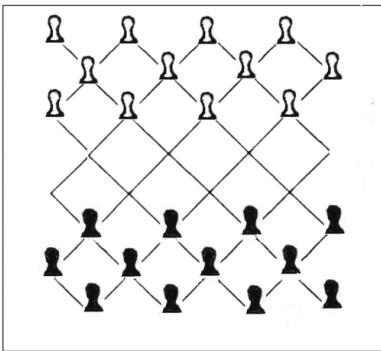
Lope de Rueda

⁴⁷ **BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN, Adolfo** (1920/1964) *Revue Hispanique* (Reprint 1964), number 50. Un antiaristotéltico del Renacimiento. Hernando Alonso de Herrera y su Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristotel y sus secuaces

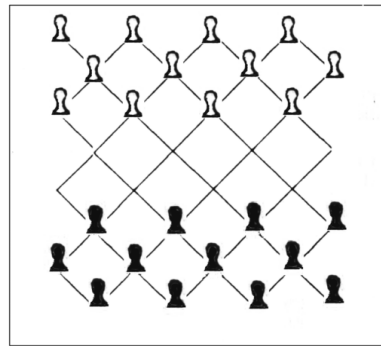
CONCLUSION

Everything seems to indicate here that Hernando Alonso de Herrera⁴⁸ referred to the game of alquerque, as Covarrubias⁴⁹ already did. That is to say that he referred to the old game of andarraya of which the name was replaced by alquerque and which was played on a board similar to the way of playing draughts.

We then have as hypothesis:



Old term: Andarraya, 1495



New term: Alquerque, 1517

The term quoted by him is nothing else than the later term of *trecha*, which then became popular, replacing it at the end of the fifteenth century by the term *treta*. Consequently, in 1517 the parties of the game were already annotated. It cannot be anything else. The first draughts composition we know, attributed to the book of

⁴⁸ **BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN, Adolfo** (1920/1964) *Revue Hispanique* (Reprint 1964), number 50. Un antiaristotélico del Renacimiento. Hernando Alonso de Herrera y su Breve disputa de ocho levadas contra Aristotel y sus secuaces.

⁴⁹ **COVARRUBIAS, Sebastián de** (1611) *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987

Torquemada⁵⁰, which was printed in Valencia in 1547, shows great depth in the plays to reach a victory. Such expertise could only be reflected in books when they had had many years of study before. I say here now the word *probably* with intentionality, for I still have doubts⁵¹ whether Torquemada's book of draughts really existed. For this you need to have full proofs that I do not yet have.

The idea is to discuss the origin of the draughts (checkers) game. Most think that it is more than 3,000 years, which is not correct.

⁵⁰ **TORQUEMADA, Antonio de** (1547). El ingenio, ò juego de Marro, de punta, ò Damas. Valencia. (Lost work?)

⁵¹ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1995) Draughts Magazine *De problemist*, Amersfoort.

Patience is the strength of the weak
and impatience the weakness of the fort.
Immanuel Kant

10. CASTRO

On Jansen's advice we also made a complete study of a game called Castro. And rightly so, as Castro may be related to Turkish draughts. Jansen immediately suspected that Castro was nothing more than the chessboard without the two-color squares. Turkish draughts were played⁵² with turrets In Old Jerusalem. Mr. De las Casas also talks about a game with castles. (See page 68 of this book.).

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD CASTRO

The critical etymological dictionary of Corominas⁵³ states:
Castro, from Lat. CASTRUM fortified camp. 1^a doc .: 1313, *Cortes*,
with reference to Galicia.

The work **Diccionario de Autoridades (1726/1984)**⁵⁴ let us know:
Juego que usan los muchachos con unas piedrecitas que ponen en unas rayas: que por que están hechas ò delineadas al modo como se forma el campo ò ejército, dice Covarr. se llamó assi. *Lat. Puerilis quidam ludus, at similitudinem aciei, in alveolo lineis descriptus et lapillis hinc inde dispositis, quem castrum vocitant.*

⁵² **BELL, R.C.** (1979) *Board and Table Games From Many Civilizations*, New York, volume II: pp. 41 and 54

⁵³ **COROMINAS, J. Y PASCUAL, J.A.** (1987) *Diccionario critico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, Madrid

⁵⁴ **DICCIONARIO DE AUTORIDADES (1726-1737)** *Real Academia Española*, Madrid. Reedition Editorial Gredos, Madrid 1984

The **Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada**⁵⁵ (1911) indicates:

Juego que usan los muchachos, dirigiendo unas piedras por unas rayas, dispuestas al modo de la situación de un ejército acampado.

Translation:

Game that the boys use, directing some stones by stripes, arranged in the way of the situation of an encamped army.

According to the etymology **Castro** (castrum) means **real**⁵⁶.

Alfonso de Palencia⁵⁷ says the following about **castro** in his dictionary:

Mecia tribus. a quodam castro appellatur.

From *Antonio de Nebrija* we know the following:

- castro .as. aui. por castrar animales (1492a:62)⁵⁸
- capar o castrar (Lat. castro. as. execo- as.) (1495:46)⁵⁹
- capar o castrar (Lat. castro. as. execo- as.) (1516/1981:44)⁶⁰
- castillo = villeta cercada castrum -i. Castellum -i (1516/1981:47)

Here **castro** is used in the meaning of castrate and castle

⁵⁵ **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA** (1908-1930 70 volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid. Volume 12, p. 370

⁵⁶ **BRAE = Boletín de la Real Academia Española**, X, p. 473 and 614

⁵⁷ **PALENCIA, Alfonso de** (1490) *Universal vocabulario en latin y romance*, Sevilla, p. 538

PALENCIA, Alfonso de (1490) *Universal vocabulario en latin y en Romance*, Sevilla. Facsimile Reprint, Madrid 1967

⁵⁸ **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1492a) *Dictionarium latino-hispanum*, Salamanca

⁵⁹ **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1495) *Dictionarium hispano-latinum*, Salamanca. (reprint in 1951 by the Real Academia Española -Diccionario Romance (español) in Latin. There are several known editions of this book in: 1494? Evora; 1503 Sevilla; 1506 Paris, 1513 Madrid.

⁶⁰ **NEBRIJA, Antonio de** (1516) *Vocabulario de Romance en latin*. Sevilla. (reprint, Madrid, 1971)

*Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella*⁶¹ says this about **castro**:
 castro. tras. traui. actiuo por castrar o priuar de algund aucto. math (ei).
 XIX & Sancti Hieronimi.
 Here **castro** is again used in the meaning of castrate.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MEANINGS OF CASTRO IN THE XV CENTURY

We find the word **castro** for the first time already in the fifteenth century. This term was used as surname, indicated by Diego Rodriguez de Almela⁶² who cites the surname of Alvar Perez de Castro. We see something similar in the book of Gauberto Fabricio de Vagad⁶³ with the family surnames Phelipe de Castro and Sánchez de Castro. Another meaning of **castro** is that of a place and in this way we observe **castro** castle that we find in the book of Alfonso de Cartagena⁶⁴; a place that is referred to as **castro** ferral, accepted in the book of Diego de Valera⁶⁵; and otherwise we find it in **el campo de origue acerca de un logar q dizen castro verde** (the field of *origue* about a place that is referred to as green castro), whose text we find in the book of Diego Rodriguez de Almela⁶⁶. The fact that the famous humanist Antonio de Nebrija does not mention **castro** as a game in his dictionaries means that at that time the term **castro** was not used for a game. The last dictionary of Antonio de Nebrija is from 1516, but the first mention of **castro** as game⁶⁷ dates from 1519, which is the reason

⁶¹ FERNANDEZ DE SANTAELLA, Rodrigo (1499) *Vocabulario eclesiástico*, Sevilla, p. 58

⁶² RODRIGUEZ DE ALMELA, Diego (1487b) *Valerio de las historias escolásticas y de España*, Murcia, p. 57

⁶³ FABRICIO DE VAGAD, Gauberto (1499) *Crónica de Aragon*, Zaragoza, pp. 43 and 219

⁶⁴ CARTAGENA, Alfonso de (1487) *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. Burgos, p. 165

⁶⁵ VALERA, Diego de (1482) *Crónica de España*. Sevilla, p. 253

⁶⁶ RODRIGUEZ DE ALMELA, Diego (1487a) *Compilación de las batallas campales*. Murcia, p. 78

⁶⁷ COBARRUBIAS, Fray Pedro de (1519) *Remedio de jugadores*. Burgos, pp. 27-28

why this new name for a game should be between these two periods. I believe more in the period around 1500.

DESCRIPTIONS OF CASTRO IN THE LITERATURE

1519 FRAY PEDRO DE COBARRUBIAS

De aqui infieren algunos doctores que los juegos del **castro** y del axedrez: non son licitos a tales personas: porque son morosos y ocupan mucho tiempo y como son de ingenio en el qual es mayor el conocimiento de verse vencido⁶⁸...

Translation:

From here some doctors infer that the games of castro and axedrez are not lawful to such people, because they are delinquent and take a long time and as they are of ingenuity in which the knowledge is greater to be vanquished ...

1558, CRISTOBAL DE VILLALON

II, chap. 17: (...) Of the inventors of the games. Ballgame. Wrestling. Cards. Chess. Carnicoles. Dice. Alquerque. Jaldeta. Ingenious and gentle to recreate: because according to Valerio, *Scevola* was the first to invent the game of the ball: and Hercules endured his incomparable works with the game of the fight and *punaceste* that he invented: and Palamedes being on Troy to pass the long besiege invented the cards: Mangrolina founded chess; he was so skilful in the game that he played walking in a room with great players without seeing the board. The Greeks invented the game of *carnicoles*: the Mauros invented the

⁶⁸ COBARRUBIAS, Fray Pedro de (1519) *Remedio de jugadores*. Burgos, pp. 27-28

dice: the Spaniards invented the game of alquerque that they call by another name of castro: they also invented jaldeta⁶⁹.

1569 BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN (C. 1503 - 1590)

(Sahagún 1569/1969, book 8, XVII,5, N° 3)⁷⁰: El segundo pasatiempo que tenia era un juego, como de dados; hacian en un petate una cruz pintada, toda llena de cuadros, semejante al juego del alquerque, o castro, ...

(Sahagún 1569/1969, book X, N° 8/9): (..) jugaban un juego que se llama patolli, que es como el juego del castro o alquerque, o casi, o como el juego de los dados.

Translation:

The second pastime they had was a game like dice; they made it on a type of mat with a painted cross, the whole full of squares, similar to the game of alquerque, or castro, ...

(Sahagun 1569/1969, book X, No. 8/9): (...) they played a game called patolli, which is like, or almost like, the game of castro or alquerque, or like the game of dice.

1593 GUADIX, DIEGO DE

A manuscript without printing of Diego de Guadix (1593), situated in the *Biblioteca Colombina* of Seville, let us know⁷¹:

⁶⁹ **VILLALON, Cristobal de** (1558) El Scholastico, en el qual se forma una académica república o scholastico universidad, con las condiciones que deven tener el maestro y discípulo para ser varones dignos de la vivir. Hecho por el licenciado Christobal deVillalon. Dirigido al muy alto y muy poderoso príncipe don Phelipe, nuestro señor. Hijo del invictis - simo emperador Carlos Quinto desto nombre: nuestro rey y señor. Valladolid. Edition R.J.A. Kerr, Madrid 1967 (Clásicos hispánicos)

⁷⁰ **SAHAGUN, Fray Bernardino** (c. 1569) *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, manuscript, Edition Mexico 1969

⁷¹ **GUADIX, Diego de** (1593) Recopilación de algunos nombres arábigos que los moros .. pusieron a algunas ciudades ... con algunos vocablos y verbos arábigos.... de

dize que el nombre alquerque es arábigo, y lo mismo que en castellano llamamos castro, porque tiene semejança el tablero rayado donde se juega a la castramentacion lineado en planta.

Translation:

It says that the name alquerque is Arabic, and the same as we call castro in Spanish, because the lined board has similarities where they play the lined camp on site.

1601 FRANCISCO DE ROSAL

This author wrote various works which were never published in his time. One of them was

*Origen y etimologia de todos los vocables originales de la lengua castellana*⁷².

What we know of him follows hereafter:

alquerque

En arab. es juego, quizas corrupto de calculo lat. o calces, segun *Lucilio*, como nota *festo* Franceses e italianos llaman **scalculo** y nosotros **escaque**, fingiendo un verbo **excalculari**, como en *Varron* **excuriari** y **excuncari** y descaminar que decimos en las rayas de los Reinos. Y asi dice *Scaligero* que los españoles fingimos el vocablo axedrez, como **exquadri**, perdida la silaba de enmedio, porque

que comúnmente se usa en las lenguas latina, española e italiana. Unprinted script located in the Colombina Library, with 1569 licencia, and often quoted by Covarrubias, Eguílaz, and others.

⁷² **ROSAL, Francisco del Rosal** (1585) *Origen y etymologia de todos los vocablos arábigos introducidos en la lengua castellana*, Granada

ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA (1908-1930 70 volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid. (1985, Volume 52, p. 339)

esquadrones y quadras son compañías de gente de guerra, y el juego de axedrez no es otra cosa que un real o exercito y campo formado.

Translation:

Alquerque

Arab. It is a game, maybe corrupt Lat. calculus. or calces, according to Lucilio, as noted by *festo* the French and Italians call it **scalculo** and we call it escaque, pretending a verb exscalulari, as in Varron **excuriari** and **excuncari** and mislead what we say in the stripes of the Kingdoms. And so Scaligero says that the Spaniards pretend the word chess, as exquadri, lost the syllable in the middle, because squadros and quatrains are companies of war people, and the game of chess is nothing else than a real or army and field formed.

1608 DIEGO GONZALEZ HOLGUIN

Spanish missionary and linguist born in Cáceres in 1552 and died in Mendoza (Argentina) in 1628. In 1581 he was sent to Peru. He wrote several works on the indigenous language in Peru. In this way we see in one of his works appear⁷³:

iugar al alquerque	= ttaptani cuni
iuego de alquerque	= ttaptana
axedrez	= castilla taptana
tablero de axedrez	= castillo taptana

The word castillo can refer to **castro**.

1611 SEBASTIAN DE COVARRUBIAS Y OROZCO

Spanish priest and grammarian. He was a famous canonist and connoisseur of the antiquity and gave classes in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He wrote several works, among which we find:

⁷³ **GONZALEZ HOLGUIN, Diego** (1608) *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru llamado lengua qquichua o del inca*. Ciudad de los Reyes. (Lima 1989)

Tesoro de la lengua castellana ó española.

This is the first etymological dictionary of the Spanish language which, despite certain ingenuities and inaccuracies, is still an indispensable work⁷⁴.

- escaque:

We call squares (escaques) the squares of the chessboard or the angles of the squares of the board of the alquerque, which is played with white and black stones, and usually we capture one, two, and three pieces, and this seems to be the old game, which they called of the thieves, of which the poets make mention. **Ouidio, De Arte Amandi; Cautaque non stulte latronum praelia ludat, - Unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit.** When a stone given to the contrary it gains two, jumping from one to another square, **Marcial: Hic mihi bis seno numeratur tessaera puncto, - Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit.** (...) And extending to also mean square and alternating chess squares, white with black, in whose form there are many families that have them for arms, and took their beginning of the camp from where one will understand the name of this same set of squares and angles called castro⁷⁵.

Castro

Lo que por otro nombre llamamos real; lugar donde el ejército está asentado en el campo, asegurado con fosos y trincheas, repartidos por sus cuarteles, formadas sus calles y sus plazas; y porque la planta suya está lineada y se parece a las rayas del tablero, en que los

⁷⁴ COVARRUBIAS, Sebastián de (1611) *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987

⁷⁵ COVARRUBIAS, Sebastián de (1611) *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987, p. 534

muchachos juegan con unas pedreçuelas, llamaron este juego el castro⁷⁶.

Translation:

Castro

What by another name we call real; place where the army is seated in the field, secured with pits and trenches, distributed by its barracks, forming its streets and squares; and because its plant is linear and resembles the stripes of the board, in which the boys play with some stones, they called this game castro.



Family weapon of count Castro Enríquez

⁷⁶ **COVARRUBIAS, Sebastián de** (1611) *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid, 1611. Edición de Martín de Riquer de la Real Academia Española, Editorial Alta Fulla, Barcelona, 1987, p. 318

What Covarrubias mentions about the family weapon is reasonable if we contemplate the above indicated weapon of the count of Castro Enríquez⁷⁷.

1617 MINSHEU

Castro y campo, castra; a hold, a fort, a sconce, a campe (Minsheu, 1617).

1620 FRANCIOS

Castro o real, il campo o l'esercito; castro, giuoco da ragazzi, come il tavoliere doue giocare con certe pietre (Franciosini, 1620).

1624 CARO, RODRIGO

Rodrigo Caro was a poet and archaeologist who was born in Utrera in 1573 and died in 1647. He enrolled in the University of Osuna in 1590 and concluded his studies in 1596, after which he practiced law in his hometown of Utrera. Caro is one of the most outstanding figures in Spanish literature and his great merits as archaeologist, biographer, bibliographer, historian, and bilingual poet are worth mentioning. Juan Caro was a relative of Rodrigo Caro whose name was for unknown reasons used for dedicating his book.

This work was left unprinted and uncorrected and was made up of 6 dialogues. Caro discusses the games of chance in the third dialogue. Chapter 4 deals with the game of checkers. With regard to Castro there is an interest in the following sentence found in his dialogues:

Tambien he visto jugar otro juego con 6 chinas que llaman el castro, o tres en carro, o tres en raya⁷⁸.

Translation

⁷⁷ **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA** (1908-1930 70 volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid. (Volume 18, p. 2555)

⁷⁸ **CARO, Rodrigo** (1624) *Días geniales o lúdricos*, Manuscript. Edition of Jean-Pierre Etienne, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 volumes. Volume 2, p. 163

I have also seen another game played with 6 pieces that they call castro, or three men's morris, or three in a row.

1687 DAVID CLERICUS

The use of the term castro in a description of chess:

Ludus Scachiorum: Si potuit olim Pyrrhus per calculos in tabulâ disciplinam tradere militarem, quidni hodie de ludo verba factururus, in ludo copias, turmas, *castra*, milites, equites, pedites ostendere queam? quidni in belli simulacro simulacro disciplinae militaris praecepta exhibere?

1694 THOMAS HYDE (1636-1703)

Hispani quatuor hujus Ludi Nomina habent: quorum unum est **Las Damas**, superius dictum. Alterum est **Alquerque**. Tertium est **Castro**: quartum **Real**.

THE WORD CASTRO IN DICTIONARIES:

ENCICLOPEDIA DEL IDIOMA I⁷⁹

Castro (l. castrum) m.s. XVI to XX

1. Juego que usan los muchachos, dirigiendo unas piedrecitas por unas rayas, dispuestas al modo de un ejército acampado. (Hurtado de Mendoza: Buen placer, disc. 1. 1550, f. 18).
2. S. XVII. Real o sitio donde estaba acampado y fortificado un ejército. (Cov. 1611)
3. S. XIV al XVIII. Castillo o pueblo fortificado. (Cortes de León y Cast. I, p. 245)
4. Gal. y Ast. Altura donde hay vestigios de fortificaciones antiguas.
5. Gal. y Ast. y Sant. Peñasco que avanza de la costa, hacia el mar, o que sobresale aislado en éste y proximo a aquélla; Ponerse como un castro. Fr. Sant. Enfadarse lanzando improperios. A. Castro o

⁷⁹ ALONSO, Martín (1958) *Enciclopedia del idioma I*, Madrid

al cielo! Dicho marinero en elogio de Castro Urdiales, como puerto de seguridad en tiempo borrascoso. (Cfr. Rosal 1601; Minsheu 1617)

DICCIONARIO MEDIEVAL ESPAÑOL⁸⁰

Castro (l. castrum) m.s. XI to XV - castillo o pueblo fortificado:

- Derribar los castros e las casas ffuertes de Gallizia,
(Cortes León y Castilla (1020-1349), de. 1882, T.I, 245).
- Sexto tarquino vino con Colatino, marido de Lucreçia, a un castro llamado Colaço.
(Santillana: Obr. de. 1852, 73).
- Procestria ... E artorio dixo ser procestria defensas fechas ante el aposentamiento de los guerros de la que usan en logar de castros.
(A. de Palencia: Vocab. (1490) 385d).

The useful information of these dictionaries is minimal; we perceive that castro was used in the sense of castle and as a children's game on a lined board. Moreover, the word castro, as a game, made its entry into real life around 1520.

THE TERMINATION OF CASTRO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

We find the term Castro as game for the first time in the 16th century. Before this date the word Castro was used for other matters. From the data available at this time we can determine that Castro was used for the game of three men's morris. Each player had 3 pieces and the one who knew how to place the three pieces in a line won the game. There were many names for this game of Castro in Spain. The term Trincarro⁸¹ was used in Andalusia (Enciclopedia Universal Illustrated,

⁸⁰ **ALONSO, Martín** (1986) *Diccionario Medieval Español desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silenses (S. X) hasta el siglo XV*. Salamanca

⁸¹ **ENCICLOPEDIA UNIVERSAL ILUSTRADA, EUROPEA-AMERICANA** (1908-1930 70 volumes, thereafter in 1930-1996 about 40 supplements). Espasa-Calpe, Madrid. (Volume 49, p. 941)

volume 49: 941) and the term Marro was common in Catalonia. Apart from Castro the following terms are also known: Alquerque de tres, Tres en carro, Tres en Raya, Trincarro, Pedreria in Marro.

In order to know the maximal number of forms of the game of this Castro we also reflect the texts of the various authors who wrote about these games in the 19th century.

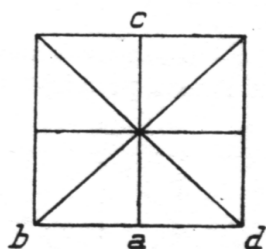
1891 BRUNET Y BELLET

Brunet y Bellet⁸² let us know:

(...) but by Marelle the Italians we still understand our game of Marro, that is to say, the game of Riga with the twelve white and twelve black pebbles, called Castro in Spanish, a name also given in Castile to which players also called them Alquerque or Tres en Raya, just as Carrera gives the name Juoco di Riga to both games, and the Catalans call it Marro the Riga of 24 pebbles and the one of 6 - three white and three black - or Three Men's Morris like the Castilians.

1901 P. SANTOS HERNANDEZ

This game, also known by the names Trincarro and Three in line (Three Men's morris), is the simplest of all and the origin of the others⁸³.



Castro

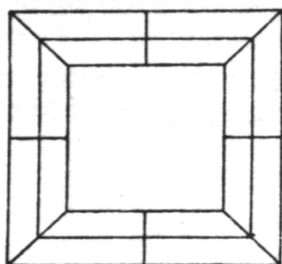
⁸² **BRUNET Y BELLET, José** (1891) *El Ajedrez, Investigaciones sobre su origen*, Barcelona, p. 205

⁸³ **SANTOS HERNANDEZ, P.** (1901) *Juegos de los niños en las escuelas y colegios*. De. Saturnino Calleja, Madrid. Facsimil Edition José J. de Olañeta, Editor. Mallorca, 1986. Estudio preliminar de Carmen Bravo-Villansante, p. 181

This game is also called **tres en carro**⁸⁴ and under this name **tres en carro** or **trincarro** we can consult the works of Cuervo⁸⁵ and Toro y Gisbert⁸⁶.

The three castros

They are three concentric and paraallel squares with the same diagonals and perpendicular than in the ordinary castro, without more difference than that these lines do not penetrate in the inner square. There are 24 points of intersection in the game, and in order not to finish the game quickly players use six, or better nine, pieces.



The three castros

5 in a row

The term Castro is not used in this game by Santos Hernández⁸⁷, but we mention it, because the game here is called five in a row and is only a step away from the aforementioned game the three castros, which is also called three in line. They are therefore family games.

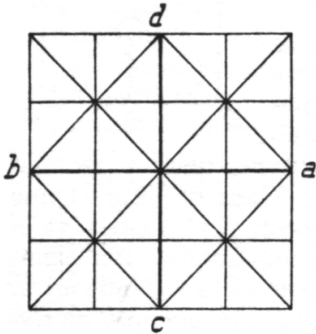
⁸⁴ **BRAGA, Theofilo** (1882-1883) *Os jogos infantis em Portugal e Andalusia en El folklore andaluz*, N° 10, p. 80

⁸⁵ **CUERVO, R.J.** (1914) *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*, 6° de., Paris

⁸⁶ **TORO Y GISBERT, M.** (1920) *Revue Hispanique*, N° 49:381 Points = Pips

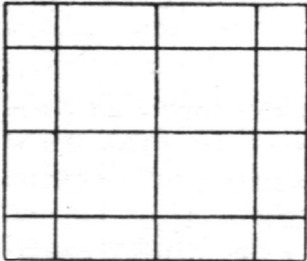
⁸⁷ **SANTOS HERNANDEZ, P.** (1901) *Juegos de los niños en las escuelas y colegios*. De. Saturnino Calleja, Madrid. Facsimil Edition José J. de Olañeta, Editor. Mallorca, 1986. Estudio preliminar de Carmen Bravo-Villansante, p. 182

Each player has five pieces and the one who gets five pieces in a row proclaims himself a winner. This is a game that demands as much attention as do draughts, because it cannot be considered a very easy game



5 in a Row

Los cuadros



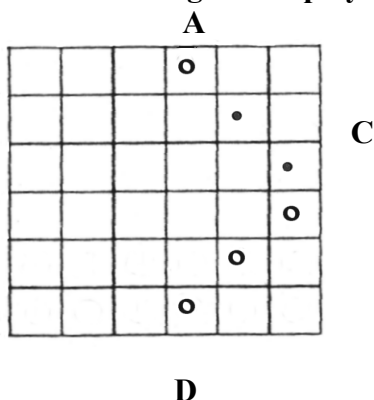
Los Cuadros

In the game of *los cuadros* both players have five pieces. The pieces move one square in any direction. Anyone who is able to block a counterpiece without moving can remove this piece from the board. The winner is he who leaves his opponent without pieces, which is not easy⁸⁸.

⁸⁸ SANTOS HERNANDEZ, P. (1901) *Juegos de los niños en las escuelas y colegios*. De. Saturnino Calleja, Madrid. Facsimil Edition José J. de Olañeta, Editor. Mallorca, 1986. Estudio preliminar de Carmen Bravo-Villansante, p. 182

1911 J.C.G. JONKER

Children attending school play checkers



In the draughts game A the one whose pawns are one behind the other, forming a chain without interruption, will win. See D, but with C there are 2 pieces (pawns of player B, indicated by points) in chain, but the other player places his own piece as in the image, so that B cannot reach his goal.

And from north to south, east to west (from left to right, top to bottom of the board or drawn board). It is played as follows:

The one who manages to group his pieces in a row, one after another, wins the game. There are no double pieces in this game similar to the damas⁸⁹. Jansen notes here that Rotti Island is found in eastern Indonesia where the Spanish influence can be seen. The description could reflect a form of the children's game of **castro** - three in line on a tinted board.

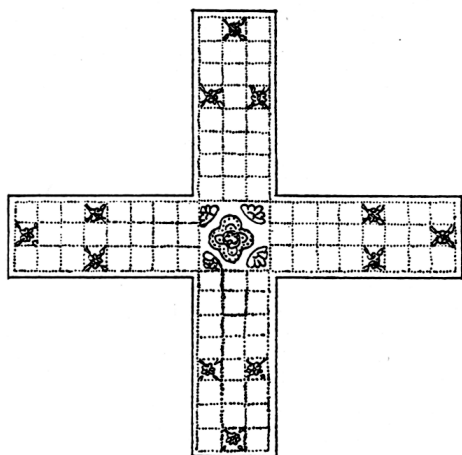
⁸⁹ JONKER, J.C.G. (1911) Rottineesche teksten, Leiden

BOARDGAMES WITH CROSSES

We regularly find crosses on the game boards of the different games. An interesting study of this was presented by Ken Whyld during the annual meeting of the chess historians (The Königstein Group) in 1993 at the Max Euwe Centrum in Amsterdam, which I attended on invitation of Dr. Ricardo Calvo of Madrid.



Dr. Ricardo Calvo



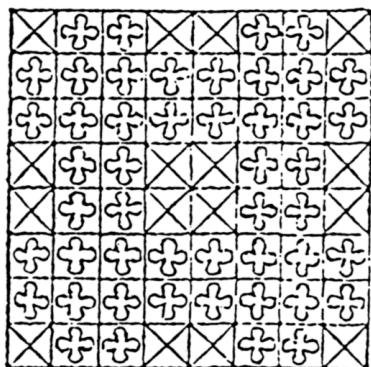
A Pachisi board

The sites with a cross in such games are called fortresses / castles in India. Pieces cannot be captured at these sites⁹⁰. A large Pachisi board in the form of a cross is in the courtyard of the Indian city of Fatehpur Sikri. The game was popular among the Mughals, but this board was usually embroidered on fabric⁹¹. Here is a Pachisi board as found in Falkener⁹².

⁹⁰ **GRUNFELD, F.V.; BOTERMANS, J.** (1994) Bord- en tafelspelletjes uit de hele wereld, Utrecht

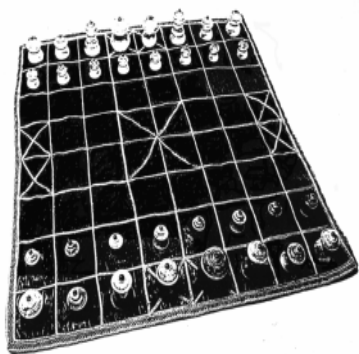
⁹¹ **WHYLD, Ken** (1993) Chess Historians Meeting - Marked squares on the chaturanga board - Amsterdam, p. 1

⁹² **FALKENER, E.** (1892) Games Ancient & Oriental and how to play them. London, p. 260



Shatranj-bord, 1694

In Persia and India there are atypical 64-frame chessboards. The squares that give the king the best protection are marked with crosses. When the king is in trouble, he can seek protection in these marked squares (cross) and free himself from an enemy attack. Here is this type of chess board as found in Hyde⁹³.



Shatranj-board XIX century

The Arab conquerors gave the name of Shatranj to the ancient precursor of the current game of chess that was introduced in Spain by the Moors. This was valid for about 1000 years until the 16th century, the standard form of the game of chess. In some places in Asia even up to at least the 19th century⁹⁴.

The board shown here is in a private Italian collection (Sanvito, 1992: 70). The question now is whether these crosses also called castles and fortresses really had to do with **Castro**.

In Spain the game of chess was already known⁹⁵ in 822. Several pieces of chess originating from this period have been described by José

⁹³ HYDE, Thomas (1694a) *Mandragorias*, Oxford. Volume I, p. 67

⁹⁴ PRATESI, Franco (1987a) *Brittish Chess Magazine*, pp. 152-155

Camón Aznar⁹⁶. It is still questionable whether it was played on a checkered board of two colors in those years in Spain as was the case in the town of Einsiedeln in Switzerland⁹⁷.

The International chess game reached more or less its current form in Europe around 1456 to 1471 and was an invention of the seaports of Andalusia and Extremadura, but not those of Aragon, Castile, nor the Mediterranean sea coast according to F.C. Görschen⁹⁸. I prefer the hypothesis of Dr. Ricardo Calvo⁹⁹ who suspects that Valencia would have been the birthplace of modern chess. I stipulated that time as the date of the definitive outbreak of the new powerful dama¹⁰⁰ in chess and draughts between 1492 and 1495 in Valencia¹⁰¹.

⁹⁵ **CALVO, Ricardo** (1993) *Der Musiker der das Schachspiel brachte*, Schach-Journal, N° 1, Berlin, pp. 83-97

⁹⁶ **CAMÓN AZNAR, José** (1936-1939) *Las piezas de cristal de roca y arte fatimí encontradas en España: Lote del monasterio de Celanova, Al-Andalus, IV*, pp. 396-405

⁹⁷ **EINSIDLENSIS** (1050?) Swiss Manuscript with the Latin chess verse “Versus de scachis”. Published in “Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita”, Bern (1877:137-141 – Einsidlensis 365, verses 17-20)

⁹⁸ **GÖRSCHEN, F.C.** (1975a) *Entstehen und Ursprung des neuen Schachs*, Schach-Echo. Königstein, Duitsland. No.5: 74-76; No.6: 91-92; No.7: 105-108

⁹⁹ **CALVO, Ricardo** (1991) *Birthplace of Modern Chess*. New in Chess, Alkmaar (Holanda). N° 7, pp. 82-89

CALVO, Ricardo (1992) *Valencia, Geburtstätte des modernen Schachs*. Schach-Journal. Berlin. N° 3, pp. 34-46

CALVO, Ricardo & MEISSENBURG, Egbert (1995b) *Valencia und die Geburt des neuen Schachs*. Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften. Wien, pp. 77-89

¹⁰⁰ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1987) *International Dama News From Spain*. In: Dutch Draughts Magazine *Het Nieuwe Damspel*, issue 3, July-September, p. 71

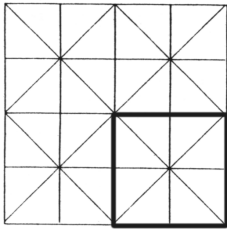
WESTERVELD, Govert (1990) *Ciencia sobre un tablero*, Editor: PPU S.A., ISBN 84-7665-697-1 (With the collaboration of Florentina Navarro Belmonte)

¹⁰¹ **WESTERVELD, Govert** (1994b) *Homo Ludens, Der Spielende Mensch IV. Internationale Beiträge des Institutes für Spielforschung und Spielpädagogik an der Hochschule Mozarteum Salzburg*. Salzburg, pp. 103-124

WESTERVELD, Govert (1996b) *Homo Ludens. El hombre que juega. Volume I. Instituto para la Investigación y la Pedagogía del Juego*. Salzburg

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINED GAMES TOWARDS BOARD GAMES WITHOUT LINES

If we put it all in order, it seems, according to Jansen, that we can create the following schematic development:



→ EXERCISE GAMES:

1. Alquerque-12
2. Marro
3. Castro
4. Real
5. Riga (Italy)

↑ CHILD'S PLAY:

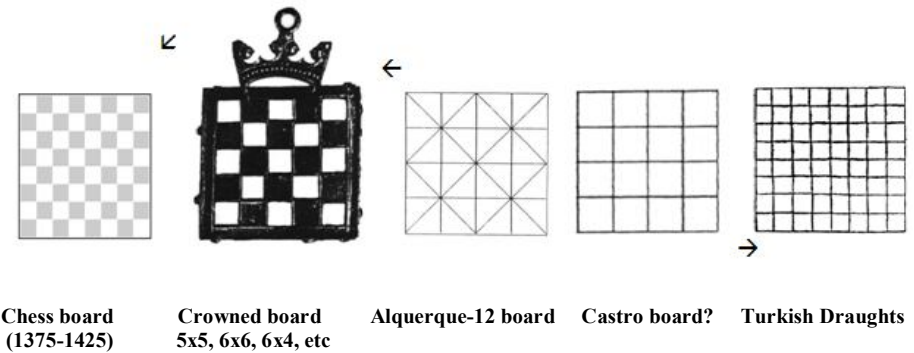
1. Alquerque-3
2. Marro
3. Castro
4. Real
5. Tres en raya
6. Trincarro

In this connection we can also use these words as terms that mean the game of checkers. Heraldically one looks only at the classification of 16 squares and this fact should be highlighted. This bears resemblance to chess!

Everything here indicates that the precursor of draughts was not played on a chessboard, but on a lined board. Probably under the influence of the chessboard, unshaded game boards in the Middle Ages¹⁰², the alquerque board, and the **castro** board showed a certain tendency to

¹⁰² **BEUNINGEN, VAN / Holdewey, A.** (1993) Heilig en Profaan, Cothen. (Rotterdam papers serie)

use the chessboard for the game of Spanish draughts and a shatranj board with squares and without colour (unshaded) for Turkish draughts. The chronological development could then have been as follows:



CONCLUSION

Castro was the name for alquerque in Spain in those years. We know it thanks to the famous manuscript of King Alfonso X the Wise who called this game Alquerque of 9. The description of Cristobal de Villalon is confusing, because he states that **Castro** (alquerque of 9?) would have been a Spanish invention. However, alquerque of 9 was already a very old game that was called "negenstukken" (9 pieces) in Holland and had been introduced by the Romans in Western Europe¹⁰³. Nevertheless, the eminent chess historian Ricardo Calvo¹⁰⁴ also believed that **Castro** is nothing else than alquerque of 9 that we know in Holland as "molenspel" and to which Zovitius¹⁰⁵ (1610) already referred early as *meulenspel* in his writings.

We know From Covarrubias that **castro** was played on lines and the game has squares and points (peaks). Cristobal de Villalon notes that it is another name for alquerque. The game of **castro** may be different from alquerque, because Diego de Guadix teaches us that **castro** is similar to alquerque, because the lined board on which it is played resembles a crossed army without telling us that it is the same game. Brunet and Bellet tells us centuries later that the game of marro is called **castro** in Castilla and cites a game of riga with 12 white pebbles and 12 black pebbles.

With **castro** one could also have tried to see the crosses on the board of alquerque or on the squares of a chessboard (shatranj). These crosses were called fortresses or castles in Persia and India. Another possibility is that the game of andarraya, played on the chessboard (with the striped pattern) was initially called **castro** in the kingdom of

¹⁰³ EALES, R. (1985) *Chess, The History of a Game*, London, pp. 48-50

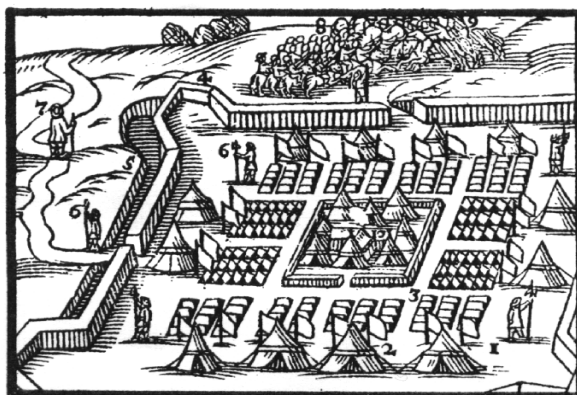
REALLEXIKON DER GERMANISCHE ALTERTUMSKUNDE (1978) *Brettspiel*, Berlijn, Volume 3

¹⁰⁴ ALFONSO X EL SABIO (1283/1987) *Libro del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas*. In collaboration with Ricardo Calvo. Reprint Madrid, 1987, p. 147

¹⁰⁵ ZOVITIUS (1610) *Colloquia. In convuluut 1610 bewaard*, Universiteitsbibliotheek te Utrecht

Castile until the term marro de punta (damas) came into use. Therefore more research is needed on the meaning of **Castro's** term board.

The game of Turkish draughts was practiced in old Jerusalem with turrets (castles). The Spanish-speaking Jews whose ancestors had to leave Spain precipitously in 1492 live in Palestine. Could this game of Turkish draughts not have been the old Spanish Castro?



Castro (Das Feldlager)
(Comenius, 1658)

Constancy is the virtue by which all things succeed.
Arturo Graf

11. DAMA

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD DAMA

The critical etymological dictionary of Corominas (1989) tells us the following:

Dama I, del fr. **dame** señora, and this from Latin **Domina** landlady. The first document was found in the work of *Gonzalo de Berceo*, dating between 1220 and 1255 (Berceo, 1255/1928:650).

Esti es nuestro sire, e esta nuestra dama.

We also find a reference to the word **dame** in the work of *Juan Ruiz*, Archpriest of Hita. (Ruiz, 1330)

The etymological Dictionary (Machado, 1967:755) informs us:

Dama: s. Jogo; mais vulgar no pl. **jogo das damas** o port. **damas**, o cast. **dama** (ajedrez de la dama), o it. **dama** e o fr. **dame** (os dois ultimos com provável origem espanhola, tal como creio, a forma portuguesa) continuam a designação (ludus) **dominarum** com que no séc. XIV se denominava o aludido jogo;

(According to this dictionary *Damas* is the successor of the name of the game **ludus dominarum** from the 14th century).

The DICCIONARIO MEDIEVAL DE ALONSO (1986):

Dama: (fr. dame y éste del l. domina, dueña)

f.s. XIII al XV. **Mujer noble o de calidad distinguida:**

- **Esti es nuestro sire, e esta nuestra dama;** (Berceo, 1255/1928:650)

- **Gentil dama, cuyo nombre/vos es asy conveniente;** (Santillana)

- **Ni espero que será a los varones menos plazientes las ilustres fazañas de las damas excelentes.** (Boccaccio, 1494/1506)

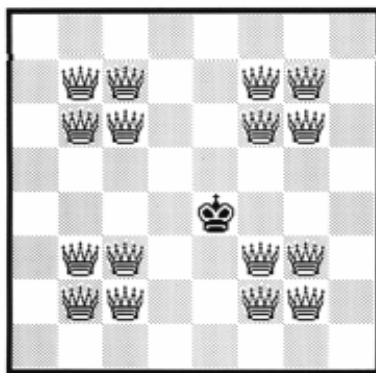
- **Dama es casi señora, domina, ae, no.** (Nebrija, 1495)
- **Dezidme, mi dama, ¿quién mantiene al vivo? El vino, la rosa, y el grano de trigo, y una linda dama que duerma sonsigo.** (Guillén, 1475/1962)

CERTIFICATION OF THE WORDS DAMA (LADY) AND DOMINA BEFORE THE 16th CENTURY

An Anglo-French manuscript from the 13th century uses the term **dame** in the specification No. 4 (Murray, 1913:589).

De guy de dames volie parler. (....) Le guy de dames si est nommé.

Here you can talk about a game with **dames** (queens) in the game of chess. In the manuscript there is a position where 16 **dames** (queens) have made mate to the king and no matter where the king is situated. The same composition is found in the chess manuscript **Civis Bononiae** from the 15th century.



Civis Bononiae 249

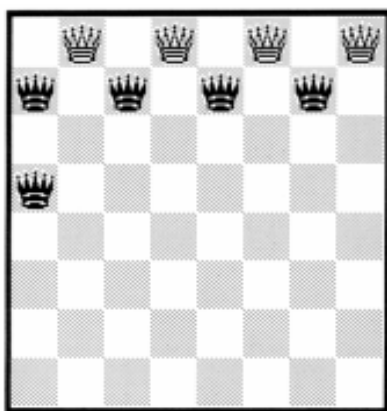
DOMINA

Murray (1913:427) informs us about this new name for the chess queen in the 15th century.

(...) and a new term **Domina** being introduced for the promoted Pawn. This is the case in the majority of the problems added to the **Civis Bononiae** collection in the 15th c. Florence MS. of that work.

THE LOMBARDO CHESS GAME

There is a Latin work made in Lombardy in the medieval period known as **Bonus Socius**. The manuscript dates from the 14th century and has a chess composition of 5 black queens against 4 white queens. This manuscript may have arrived early to France, because at least 7 French manuscripts are known. It can be deduced from the texts that the word **dame** is used in the meaning of important woman (Murray, 1913:701). The same composition is found in the chess manuscript: **Civis Bononiae** under number 247.



Bonus Socius 185

GUILLAUME DE SAINT ANDRÉ DEL SIGLO XV

In the 15th century a French manuscript was written (Murray, 1913:546), a translation of the chess allegory of the Italian Dominican Jacobus de Cessolis, who wrote his work between 1259 and 1273 (Mehl, 1975). The work of van Cessolis was based on Breviloquium de

virtutibus antiquorum principum from *Jan of Wales* (Müller, 1981:69), which used an anonymous manual with the title **Moralitas de Scaccario** that was attributed to Pope Innocencio III (1198-1216). According to Hooper (1987:60) Cessolis used the **De Regimine Principum** of *Egidius Romanus* as the basis for his work. Regarding the fifteenth-century manuscript of Guillaume de Saint-André, the king has his ancient Arabic advance on the board and the queen is called roigne or **dame**. We do not know whether this manuscript was written before 1490, so the value of this information decreases.

1489 GALLENSIS, JOH. (SIGLO XIII)

This author wrote a work that was reprinted several times in the 15th century. Everything indicates that they would like to keep the work updated and that is why the term **domina** was introduced.

Van der Linde translated the text into Latin as follows:

Die Königin oder Herrinn, welche Fers genannt wird, schlägt und geht schräg. (Murray, 1913:533 en 559; Zell, 1472).

- **Regina, sive domina, quae dicitur Ferez, capit et vadit oblique** - (Linde, 1874:149).

Loose translation:

The queen or dama, which has been called Fers, captures and moves obliquely.

Murray (1913:533 in 559) let us know:

Communiloquium sive Summa Collationum of John of Waleys (Johannes Gallensis); the printed editions of U, Zell, (Zell, 1472) Cologne, n.d. (editio princeps) and of Argentinae, 1489, Pars I, dist. x, cap. 7. The morality occurs in some, but not all, of the other printed editions.

*In this way we can determine that in the 15th century the Latin term **Domina** (queen) was known in the chess world. The term **dame** was yet rarely used, but it was known in the game of chess. At the end of the fifteenth century a great change that means a penetration for the chess queen would come. On one hand the poetry of court love would contribute to the idealization of the woman towards the **dame** in Spain and on the other hand the Spanish queen **Isabel** would play an important role during the conquest of the last Moorish enclave. **Isabel** would not be queen, but rather a general, present in all parts of Spain, and would lead her army to victory over the Moors. This great mobility and leadership in the daily life of the queen would be expressed on the chessboard, where the chess queen would be called **dame** and given the same power and mobility.*

FROM THE IDEALIZATION OF WOMAN TO DAMA

Since 1438 a certain type of court romance, originally from Provence in the south of France, made its entry into Spain. This genre was extensively used by the poets and the word **dama** was in vogue in the idealization of women, where a process of love that mostly ended in frustration was analyzed. The supremacy of the **dama** is one of the characteristic features of this love. As expected, the Royal Court could not miss these poets and thus we see that in the Court of King Juann II of Castilla poets such as the Marquis de Santillana and Juan de Mena would play an important role, as well as friars Iñigo de Mendoza and Ambrosio Montesino.

1438 ALFONSO MARTINEZ DE TOLEDO

"Envida, sy su dama buelve el ojo a otro que le mejor paresca"
(Martínez, 1438/1990:140)

Envidia, si su **dama** vuelve el ojo a otro que le paresca mejor .

1440 ? IÑIGO LÓPEZ DE MENDOZA, MARQUÉS DE SANTILLANA

The Marquis in his *lyric menor*, written between 1429-1440 uses the word **dama** in the following poem: (López, 1440/1988:6 in 79)

La moçuela de Bores

(...) Mas vi la fermosa
de buen continente,
la cara plaziente,
fresca como rosa,
tales colores
qual nunca vi dama,
nin otra, señores.



The Marquis of Santillana

1443 DAMAS CANARIAS

The word dama was also used in traditional songs. The **dames** of the Palma Island sang when their Mr. Guillén Peraza died in 1443 (Literature, 1995:53):

Llorad las dames, sí Dios os vale (así Dios os valga)

1455 ? JUAN DE MENA

On his sickbed Juan de Mena wrote (1454/1986:79,93 in 94) a poem in which a **dame** is mentioned.

**Donde yago en esta cama
la mayor pena de mí
es pensar cuando partí
de entre braços de mi dama.**



The king Juan II and Juan de Mena (Engraving of 1496)

1473 PEDRO GUILLEN DE SEGOVIA

A few years have passed since this poet (Guillén, 1475/1962) used the word **dama**:

<<Dezidme, mi **dama**, ¿quién mantiene al vivo? El vino, la rosa, y el grano de trigo, y una linda **dama** que derma sonsigo.>>

THE LATIN DOMINA BECOMES A DAMA

1490 ALFONSO DE PALENCIA

This author (Palencia, 1490/1967) uses the Latin word **domina** in 1490 for the queen in the introduction of his dictionary:

<.....> Excelle<n>tissima domina Helisabeth Castelle legionis Aragonie atq<ue> Sicilie regina:

This was translated into Romance as follows:

<.....> La muy excelente señora doña ysabel Reyna de Castilla: & de Leon: de Aragon & de Siçilia:....

Latinum.	Romanec.
Inuentionis operis argumentum.	Argumento de la obra compuesta.
<p>C Excelentissima domina Helisabeth Castelle legionis Aragonie atq; Sicilie regina: inter innumera que mortalibus peribunt suarum immortalium virtuti documeta: hoc etiam superaddere voluit: vt iussa tunc celestidinis Zilforius Palentinus gestorum hispanice scriptor: subiret onas interpretandi vocabula lingue latine secundū hispani ydiomati: quod romancium dicitur: explicationem. Quā probe nosset rerum utilissimarum inuentis: magis quam difficultatem inesse quibuscūq; mediocriter latinitatē attingētibz hispanis: vbi per</p>	<p>La muy excelente señora doña ysabel Reyna de castilla: e de leon: de aragon: e de siçilia: entre las innumerables ocmōstraciones q̄ ha fecho a los mortales de sus imortales vrtudes: quiso tãbien añadir aq̄to: q̄ por mādado de su tan notable alreça Zilforio de palencia cronista de los fechos de çipaña tomasse cargo de interjetar los vocablos de la lengua latina segund la declaracion del vulgar castellano: q̄ se dice Romançe. Sabido bien la mesma fuēza de cosas muy puechosas: la grãd dificultad q̄ incurri los de çipaña mediana mēci pncipiados en la latinitad: q̄ndo por vocablos la</p>

Passage in the page of: Vocabulary in Latin and Romance, 1490

We see that the word **domina** was used in 1490 to refer to the queen. In addition it was translated as **señora**, not **dama**. These things would soon change.

1495 ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA

In his Romance – Latin dictionary (Nebrija, 1495) published in 1951 by the Royal Spanish Academy, (publication of 1495 of Salamanca) we find:

dama es casi señora: domina **NOVUM**

Only 5 years after Alfonso de Palencia the word dama for queen or almighty woman becomes a concept.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERM DAMA IN THE CHESS LITERATURE

1476 ? ESCACS D'AMOR



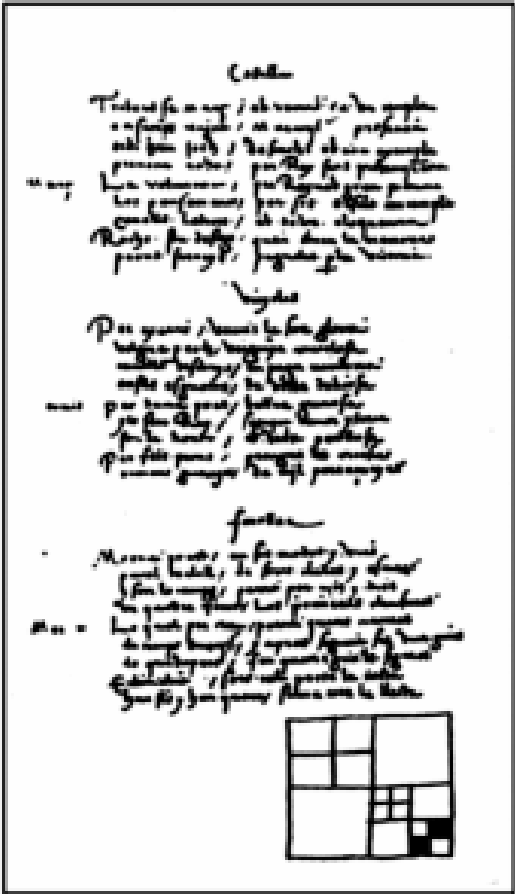
Narcís Vinyoles

Consequently, in the 15th century there was a multiple use of the word **dama** in the idealization of women. The woman was sovereign and this was noted on the chessboard in Spain, where nowadays the use of the word **dame** has become similar to a general concept in the game of chess. This is clearly seen in the chess manuscript of Narcís Vinyoles. (1476?):

La Dama se'n torna a son loch

Translation:

The **dame** goes back to her square.



Manuscript Escacs d'amor

1497 ? EL LIBRO DE AJEDREZ DE LUCENA

(...) que entra dama y el primer lance que della iugare que prenda y de xaque como dama y cavallo por lo mucho que alas mugeres se les deve: y de alli adelante por barra: o por esquina.... (Lucena, 1497).



Diagram in the book of Lucena

If you want to know more about this famous chess book, you can read Tasilo van der Lasa (1858:443-445, 481-498; 1859: 9-12, 41-45, 71-74, 102-104, 224-226) as well as Antonius van der Linde (1881b/1968: 231-239) and Dr. Adriano Chicco, N° 2:36-37; N° 3: 46-47).

1519 PEDRO DE COBARRUBIAS

Friar Pedro de Cobarrubias in his book *Remedy of Players* refers to queen Isabel the Catholic and deals with her exactly in the chapter about chess. The word **dama** does not appear in the text, nevertheless, we reflect the text here. Viz, my hypothesis that the powerful dama is precisely based on the prowess and firmness of this sovereign. (Westerveld, 1987:29; Westerveld, 1994a:103-124; 1994b; 1996b).

La reina se mueve como todos los inferiores en el tablero, salvo como el caballo, porque la reina no debe pelear, sino espantar los enemigos, como hizo en la guerra de Granada. (Covarrubias, 1519).

Translation:

The queen moves like all the inferiors on the board, except as the horse, because the queen should not fight, but scare the enemies, as she did in the war of Granada.



Book “Remedio de jugadores”, 1519

THE USE OF SHAKED SQUARES

In Spain the game of chess was already known probably in the tenth century. Chess pieces from this period have been found (Camon, 1936: 396-405). Initially it was played on a squared board of one color and later they used boards with colored squares. The oldest painting known as a chess game dates from the 14th century and is housed in a museum in Palma de Mallorca. The strange thing is that we only see the pieces in the white boxes. Was it really a game of chess or was it a forerunner of draughts?



**Saint Nicolas, Saint Peter, and Saint Clara, XIV century
(Draughts? – Museum in Mallorca)**

1509 FRANCISCO JIMENEZ DE CISNEROS (1436-1517)

He was a Cardinal, Spanish politician, and one of the greatest figures of Spanish history. He was born in Torrelaguna (Madrid) in 1436 and died in Roa (Burgos) in 1517. He studied first in Alcala de Henares and later in Salamanca, where he devoted himself to law and theology. After many ecclesiastical occupations he was appointed as her confessor by Queen Isabel the Catholic at the age of 56. He baptized many Moors in the Catholic faith, but did not have a wide scope, because he unfortunately instructed to burn many Arabic manuscripts. (Menendez, 1964: 702-715).



Polyglot Bible of 1517



Cardinal Cisneros in Oran, 1509

Cardinal Cisneros was the founder of the University of Alcala de Henares, which was built between 1498 and 1508. He also published the first polyglot bible in 1517. For many years Cardinal Cisneros was Regent of Castile. For us it is interesting to see that the cardinal used his weapon with coloured pictures for the bible and during the

conquest of Oran (Menendez, 1964, volume 17:702-715). We can suppose that these weapons with squares would facilitate the use of the chessboard for the Spanish game of draughts.

THE FOOTPRINTS OF DRAUGHTS BETWEEN 1500 - 1700

1530 MATURINUS CORDERIUS (1479-1564)

The French humanist Maturin Cordier, a high school teacher, wanted to teach Latin in depth to his students and make them get rid of their mother tongue. The French barbarian dialect seemed only appropriate for children and service personnel. Unlike his colleagues who taught Latin in their own way with shouts and slaps, Cordier followed the natural method: his students had to talk all day and were frequently included in conversations by their teacher. In all these years Cordier formed a list of approximately 1800 phrases, in which the students had mistreated Latin in an ingenious and at the same time barbaric way. In 1539 he published a compendium in which he gave the correct expressions in Latin for all situations.

He wrote successively: **a.** the corrupt Latin phrase **b.** the same phrase, but now in classic Latin. **c.** the French phrase, **d.** purifications. The little book contains a chapter which deals with games and simple games of secondary school students (Jansen 1994, N° 35:43). **The games of checkers is also added to these games.** The author (Corderius, 1530) teaches how to correctly write **les tables pour iouer aux dames**. The incorrect form is: **Ludamus ad dominas**. The correct form is: **Ludamus calculi**. Additionally, **Calculi, sunt orbiculi, quibus luditur in fritillo** are translated as Les tables pour iouer aux dames, ou aultre ieu du tablier.

This means that a game with checkers pieces was already known in 1530, which was probably checkers in France. The compendium of Corderius was very successful in Eastern Europe. It was also popular among schoolchildren. However, it seemed that users would greedily use corrupt phrases. Cordier received letters from indignant teachers

every week. Later editions therefore omitted the corrupt Latin. The Flemish edition appeared in 1546, and a printed book in Spanish did in 1540.

1531 CHÂTEAU DE PONT-D'AIN

Jean-Michel Mehl does not believe in early checkers and this is demonstrated if we observe his following text: Les traités théoriques et les textes littéraires ne soufflent mot des jeux de dames. Finally, the first document that explicitly mentions a **jeu de dames** est un inventaire de château de Pont-d'Ain, daté de 1531 (Quinsonas, 1860:372; Mehl, 1990:146).

1535 FRANÇOIS RABELAIS (1494-1553)

In the first part of the 16th century the French priest Rabelais invented the novel figure *Gargantua*. Everything that this heroic figure performs is described in terms of satire and exaggeration.



François Rabelais



Johann Fischart

When young *Gargantua* relaxes, he does so, for example, entertaining himself with at least 217 small games. These games are listed in a logical order: *Gargantua* first plays a number of card games, followed by the game of tables, skill games, etc. The games with the numbers

44/54 seem to be all the games that were played along with the table games on the games boxes (Jansen 1996, N° 46:32-34; Rabelais, 1535). The 217 little games of *Garantua* (1535) became 586 in the translation done by the German jurist Johann Fischart (1575), while the English nobleman Urquhart (1653) followed exactly the French original work. The Dutch translation is by Gallitalo (1682).

French Edition 1535/46 (Rabelais, 1535)	German Edition 1575 (Fischart, 1575)	English Edition 1663 (Urquhart, 1653)
36 à la mourre 37 aux eschetz 38 au renard 39 au marelles 40 au vasches 41 à la blanche 42 à la chance 43 à la trois dez 44 au tables 45 à la nicnocque 46 au lourche 47 à la renette 48 au barignin 49 au trictrac 50 à toutes tables 51 au tables rabatues 52 au reniguebien 53 au forcé 54 au dames	rhat den finger schachmat des fuchsses neuntenstein/fickmül des kü schwantzes der planchen schantz der drey würffel ticketack der nickenocke lurtsch hupff auf duff auf? trickretrac auff allen tischen des Legens Gott verleugnen Röpflins Frauenspil - damas	at love at the chess at Reynard the fox at the squares at the cowes at the lottery at the chance or mumchance at three dice or maniest bleaks at the tables at nivininack at the lurch at doublets or queen's game at the failie at the French trictac at the long tables or ferkeering at feldown at todsbody at need must at the dames or draughts

Kruijswijk (1966:74) refers to the game **au forcé** of *Rabelais* with regard to checkers with mandatory capture. In the *Rabelais* edition of 1542 this term is changed to forçat. (*Rabelais*, 1542/1973)

Jansen (1996, N° 46:32-34) is a vehement supporter of the fact that no other game were referred to by the French term **jeu de dames** at the beginning than the **board game**. This type of game was possibly

played centuries later in Iceland. In the game 2 players chase and each time capture the last pieces. The pending game incorporates at a certain moment an angular **bramadera**, i.e. a piece that can be jumped from corner to corner. For a detailed description review the book of Fiske (1905): *ad elta stelpur* = mädchenverfolgung.



Marellen. (Morris) French carpet from the early part of the 16th century

And what can we think of the following title in a French book: “*Le plaisant jeu du reversis des dames*” (Anoniem, 1634), that has nothing to do with checkers? The board piece “table” in *tables rebatues* would later become *des dames rabatues*, whose game is described in a French book (Anonymous, 1698). If we were to believe Lozano Frau (1872:52-59), the game *Damas rebatidas*, would be invented in 1509 by a famous Spanish hero during the siege of Oran.

Regarding the game **au forcé** N°53 it can be seen that in the *Compleat Gamester* there is a type of table game described where you must capture obligatorily under penalty of loss of your own piece - *Why not take me?* The terms used here of **robje vangen** and **Röpflins** refer to the eastern European word **rob/rub** = steal. (Jansen 1996, N° 46:34).

The fact that **force** and **forçat** were terms both used in the card game and the board game is reflected in David Parlett's sample (1991:80):

Twenty-One was preceded by one or more games called Thirty-One, first mentioned by name in a 1464 French translation of a sermon preached by *Bernadine* in 1440, and reported throughout the sixteenth century in all major gaming sources including *Rabelais* and *Cardano*. If it is the same as the **trenta un per forza** listed in the late 15th-century *Steel* manuscript - though **per forza**, *by force*, might imply a mode of play more akin to that of Cribbage.

The term **forçat**, with reference to the 16th century, is in the works of Bordeaux (1831), Cotgrave (1611) and Sherwood (1632). The first book of board games is by Jollivet (1634).

Observation: R.C.D. Jansen: au dames (Rabelais), Frauenspil (Fischart), at the dames (Urquhart), van 't vrouwtje (Gallitalo) = le donne (1526 Francesco Berni)?

1538 MATURINUS CORDERIUS (1479-1564)

Alluding to the year 1530 we find a brief description of the life of this author. In 1538 his compendium of 621 pages was printed once again (Corderius, 1538). This work was discovered by the Italian Dr. Pratesi (1994, N° 35:41-42), who found the title in the bibliography of H.J. Clodius (1766).

XXXVIII, 46: A. **Ludamus ad dominas**. Iouons aux dames. B. **Non habemus tabularium**. Nous n'avons point de tablier. A. **Ludamus calculis**. B. **Non habemus fritillum**. **Calculi, sunt orbiculi, quibus luditur in fritillo**. Les tables pour iouer aux dames, ou aultre ieu du tablier.

Martialis, Hic tibi bissenno numeratur tessera puncto. Calculis hic gemino discolor hoste perit. Varietas. Calculis, Scrupi. Apud Budaenum. Hic fritillus, est tabula lusoria. Vng tablier pour iouer aux dames, ou aux eschetz, ou a quelque aultre ieu. Varietas, **Fritillus, Alueus, Aluéolus. Tabula interpieta pro fritillo dicitur ab Hieronymo Vida. qui nostra aetate de ludo latrunculorum carmine scripsit eleganti.**

Along with the French translation we find examples and references, as well as lists of Latin synonyms. We describe the names reserved for the game of checkers here:

Dutch	Latin	French
Spel Stukken Bord	Ad dominas Calculi, scrupi Alveus, alveolus, tabula lusoria, tabula interpicta	Aux dames Tables tablier

Here we see that the word **tables** is used in the sense of a checkers piece. It remains to be seen whether *ad dominas* was used in corrupt Latin in the meaning of a game with dames or a game with checkers pieces. I'm in favour of a game where players used dames, i.e. crowned pawns.

1547 ANTONIO DE TORQUEMADA (1508?-1569)

Spanish writer who flourished between 1553 and 1570. He was born in the kingdom of Leon, near Astorga. It seems that he studied in Salamanca, where he acquired great knowledge of medicine, geography, and theology, yet he was not ordained priest. From 1530 until his death he served as secretary of Mr. Antonio Alfonso de Pimentel, count of Benavente. The latter had close friendship with the emperor Charles V, whom he accompanied on innumerable military expeditions. The friendship is manifested in the fact that the count of Benavente was godfather and tutor of Philip II. On the other hand the count of Benavente was viceroy of Valencia (Fuster, 1991) between 1566 and 1572.

The famous book collector Nicolao Antonio (1672) described Torquemada (1547) as an author of a book of checkers:

- el juego de marro de punta ó damas, 1547.

In one of the dialogues of his book **Colloquios**, which describes the vices of professional players, we read at the end (Torquemada, 1553) a phrase that could refer to checkers:

No digo yo tal cosa, que otros juegos ay lícitos, assí como birlos, pelota y axedrez y los semejantes a éstos.

Translation:

I do not say such a thing; other games are lawful, as well as *birlos*, ball, and chess, and games similar to these ones.

1549 MATURINUS CORDERIUS (1479-1564)

In 1549 appeared a Spanish edition of the author's Latin compendium indicated above (Jansen 1994, N° 35:43). In this little book, printed by Servaes van Sassen de Leuven, with the privilege of the emperor Charles V, we find the following Spanish phrases (Corderio, 1549) for checkers: (= *1552 Flemish Edition*)

A. **Ludamus ad dominas.**

B. **Non habemus tabularium.**

A. Juguemos a las damas.

B. No tenemos tablero.

A. **Ludamus calculis**

B. **Non habemus fritillû**

Traducción libre del flamenco:

(Jugamos a las damas)

(No tenemos un tablero de damas)

Calculi, sunt orbiculi, quibus luditur in fritillo.

Las piezas con que juegan a damas.

The commentary **ou aultre ieu du tablier** has been omitted in the Spanish edition. The Latin text above refers to a single game, of checkers, unlike the French translation of 1530, where the text refers to more games, and to the Flemish translation of 1546/1552 (Jansen 1994, N° 36:33).

Martialis,

**Hic tibi bissono numeratur tessera puncto. Calculus hic gemino
discolor hoste perit.**

Variet. Calculi, scrupi. Apud Budaeum.

Hic fritillus, est tabula lusoria.

The board to play checkers on.

(Een berdt om te dammen / oft schaeckberdt / eenich ander spel)

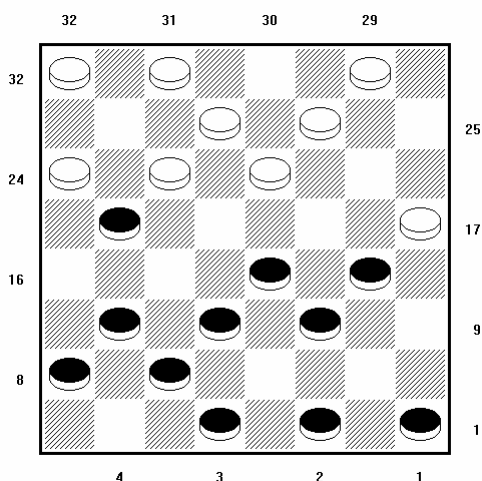
**Varietas. Fritillus, alueus, alueolus, Tabula interpicta, pro fritillo
dicitur ab Hieronymo Vida, qui nostra aetate de ludo
latrunculorum carmine scripsit eleganti.**



Johan Frederik van Saksen, 1549

1549 JOHAN FREDERIK VAN SAKSEN

Many a famous person of the half of the 16th century were painted by the Dutchman Anthonio Mor. So was the elect prince of Saksem Johan Frederik the Generous, who was very devoted to the good life and a defender of the protestant cause. Mor painted him in 1549 in Brussels when the elect prince was prisoner of Charles V. He painted Johan Frederik during a game of chess with a Spanish officer. The strange thing is that all the unconventional pieces were carefully placed in the squares of one colour. The 9-to-11 position looks like a position of checkers (Jansen 1995, N° 48:27).



El negro: Johan Frederik van Saksen

If we forget for a moment the piece that the Spanish officer has at this moment, then we get a position on the board that we reflect here in the following diagram and which, for example, could have been obtained by the following moves:

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. 12-15 23-19 | 4. 27-22 |
| 2. 10-14 21-17 | blow the white |
| blow the white pawn in 19 | pawn in 19 |
| 3. 9-13 22-19 | 5. 10-14 25-21 |
| blow the white pawn in 17 | 6. 6-10 21-17 |

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| 4. 5-10 | 7. 7-12 28-23 |
| blow the white pawn in 14 | 8. 4-7 30-27 |
| 4. 27-22 | 9. 15-20 |

And these are the moves leading to the position in question on the board. The black colour opened this game. This was normal in those years, because it is stipulated like that in the book of Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591).

1554 JUAN DE JUNTA

Giovanni di Giunta was the son of the Florentine humanist and editor Filippo di Giunta and cousin of the Venetian publisher of liturgical and juridical books, Lucantonio di Giunta. In 1520 he settled in Spain. Since 1526 he was a printer in Burgos and changed his name to Juan de Junta. He had printing houses and bookshops in Burgos and Salamanca.

When Juan de Junta was in Lyon in 1556, his son-in-law, the Flemish Matias Gast, began a process against the manager of Salamanca. This subtracted gender of the business house in Burgos. For this cause Matias Gast ordered a description of the inventory of the business house in Burgos which was carried out by the notary Pedro de Espinosa in 1556. The business in Burgos consisted of the wholesale trade, printing and binding workshop, and a business of books and paper (Pettas, 1995). (This inventory is kept in the **Archivo Histórico Provincial** of Burgos).

In his inventory list we find:

11 Iuego de damas pp 25 275

(11 little books; **pp** meant small format).

1561 RUY LOPEZ DE SIGURA

Ruy Lopez de Sigura (1561) observes the following in the chapter about the queen in his book *Libro de la invención liberal y arte del juego del Axedrez*:

Y del rey, y la reyna nadie duda, por el rey significarse el señor y principe de la gente dela guerra: y por la reyna, ò dama, representarse el capitan general de aqueste exercito: à imitacion de las amazonas, como arribva dexamos declarado.



Book of Ruy Lopez, 1561

1565 SHAKED WEAPONS

The famous jurist Joost de Damhouder, who among others was in charge of guarding embankments and flamingo dykes, took a checkerboard as a weapon in his ennoblement (Muur, 1947:30). In a song of the gueux (beggars) he referred to the tinted family weapon of *Alba* when they sang about the board of chess and checkers, which he brought along with him from Spain (Jansen 1996, N° 48:27). The Duke of Alba was regularly observed handling a familiarly shaped weapon (Historia de la Humanidad 1979, volume 5:307), as we see it here. An almost identical picture is seen in a copper engraving by Frans Huys in the State Museum of Amsterdam. An illustration is also known where a plea is presented to Alba. Above Alba's head we see his family weapon again.



Weapon of Joost de Damhouder The weapon of Alba



The weapon of checkers above Alba

1567 J. GRÉVIN, J / C. VAN BOMBERGHEN

Flamenco:

verkeerbert
te spelen of met dammen,
of ticquetacq
oft 't schaeckspel
of oock 't verkeren

French:

- tablier
- iouer aux dames, ou au
triquetrac
- ou aux échetz,
- ou à la renette ou à l'ourche

Le meuble commun de la salle et de la chambre. Dialogve IIII.
Charles, Martin, et Simon. Charles:

Vlaams: Mijn ghesel, het is veel te schoonen weder om nu te slapen,
't is vele beter dit verkeerbert te nemen, ende spelen of met **dammen**,
of ticketacq, oft 't schaeckspel, oft oock 't verkeren (Grévin, 1567).

French: *Mon amy, il fait trop beau pour dormir maintenant. Il faut mieux prendre ce tablier, à iouer aux Dames, ou au triquetrac, ou aux échetz ou à la renette, ou à l'ourche.*

1567 FRANCIS BORGIA

In 1567 the Spanish Jesuit Nadal visited some schools, recently founded in those years, in the south of Holland (Pachtler, 1887:402). He was asked what games the schoolchildren could play. Nadal addressed the issue at a meeting in France. The conclusions were adopted by the general of the Jesuits Borgia and sent to all the Jesuits. And thus in 1568 there appeared:

Guidelines for the internships of Francis Borgia (former viceroy of Catalonia and general of the Jesuit order after the death of Ignatius de Loyola and Lanez):

Convictoribus etsi non prohibeatur lusus Schaccorum et damarum, non tamen laudatur; melior est pilae palmariae, disci, sphaerularem ad annulum jactarum et ad pyramides ligneas.

Loose translation:

Although it is not forbidden for interns to play chess and checkers, it is advisable not to praise them; it is worth recommending the game of tennis, throw discs, throw balls through a little door, and play bowling.

1585 ULISES ALDROVANDI (1522-1605)

Famous naturalist, philosopher, and doctor. He originated from a noble and rich family and was educated in Bologna. In 1549 he was imprisoned on suspicion of having embraced Lutheranism, not recovering freedom until the death of Paul III. He later traveled all over Europe. He was appointed professor of Bolognese study, devoting himself to teaching; a job that he alternated with numerous trips on which he collected documents and materials for his

monumental work. According to Dr. Chicco he wrote a manuscript in 1556 about games with the title *De ludis tum publicis tum privatis metho-dus*, found in the Library of the University of Bologna. (Chicco 1978, tome I:10).



Ulisses Aldrovandi

However, this manuscript was written not before the end of the 16th century. (Pratesi, 1987:40-41). We have referred to this author in detail in the chapter **Scruporum & Calculorum**.

1580? THE MYSTERIOUS VALLE

The first reference to the author of a book of checkers by the name of Valle was found in the special Christmas issue under the heading **The eternal games** of the Madrid newspaper ABC in 1962. The author De las Casas (Cantalapiedra, 1996) gave a historical description of checkers in Spain and mentioned the author Valle, who Rodrigo Caro mentioned in his book in 1626. He also briefly observed:

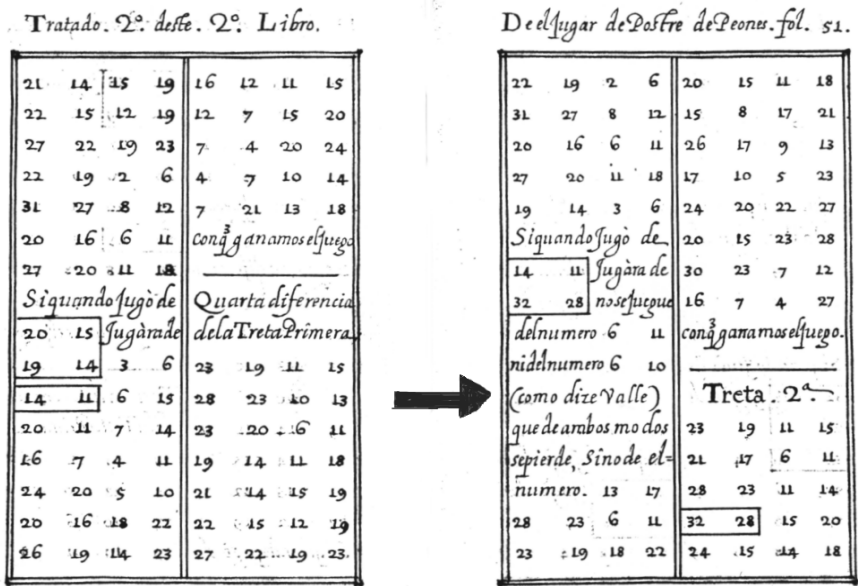
But, no matter how old the game of checkers may be, it smells like the Middle Ages. A game with Castles and with oiled paper instead of crystals, but with tapestries, and Court Love with ladies dressed in brocade and pearl sleeves.

The entire article in question was translated into Portuguese and published a year later in the journal *Enciclopedia Damista* (1963, No. 72:473-474), while it was briefly noticed that the reference to Valle was based on fables. The Portuguese Francisco Hendriques heard about this ABC article thanks to the selfless collaboration of Ms. Victoria Vindel, daughter of bibliographer Pedro Vindel, who had inherited the passion for her famous father's old checkers' books. Six years later an important event occurred: the propitious Victor Cantalapiedra Martin from Valladolid suddenly acquired a manuscript from a bookseller in Almeria with texts estimated to be from 1595 in which the name Valle was found. Cantalapiedra announced some details of this manuscript in one of the most important newspapers in Portugal (*Jornal de Almada*) consecrated to the game of checkers. Since Cantalapiedra did not present evidence, nobody believed him. Research into Caro's book (1624) showed some results. However, the Frenchman Jean-Pierre Etienvre, who excellently evaluated Caro's manuscript, apparently made the same mistake as the Portuguese - confusing Valle with Valls (Caro, 1624:204). Etienvre (1987, 1990) is considered an expert in Spanish games. Caro probably met Alonso Guerra, since both men had studied at the University of Osuna.

Fortunately the checkers player Victor Cantalapiedra Martin was willing to provide us with the page in question of his manuscript,

hoping to clear the doubts about Valle’s existence. The phrase in question *do not play nor the number 6-10 (as Valle says)* is a rectification of a move in a position that is not in the book of Lorenzo Valls. May this be another proof that Valle cannot be Valls?

Jansen also found an important text *Balla: checkers game* in an inventory description from 1701 (Sanz, 1977:150). *Balla* and *Valla* are pronounced the same way and a difference between *Valla* and *Valle* is therefore small. More research is needed to clarify the Valle issue.

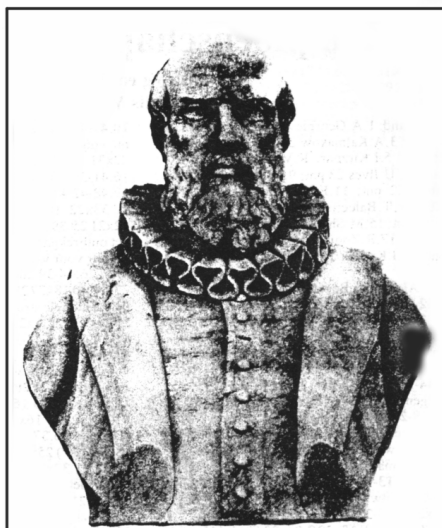


Two pages of the manuscript of Alonso Guerra (1595) that mention the name of Valle. (In possession of Don Victor Cantalapiedra Martín – Valladolid)

1588 CORNELIS KILIAAN

Although the word **dammen** (playing checkers) is found before 1550 in a small Dutch schoolbook, it seems that for 30 years thereafter it is

still not possible to link it to a fixed game. Everything in the text indicates that we should think about a **juego de tablas**, in other documentation it refers to a game of dice over a shaded board, and in another case it seems that the word was used referring to the game of small pebbles. (**alquerque**). The first person to use the word **dammen** with its current meaning was the Antwerpian Cornelis van Kiel (1530-1607), also called Kiliaan (Jansen 1996, N° 47:30).



Busto de Kiliaan en 1863

Kiliaan was a lively foreman, typesetter, writer, and proofreader of dictionaries in the company Plantijn for 50 years. Kiliaan enjoyed a lot of fame as the author of two Dutch-Latin dictionaries, which were on the market in 1588 (Kiliaan, 1588) and 1599 (Kiliaan, 1599; Kiliaan, 1981). He differentiated **tweelf-stecken (12 pieces)** and **neghen-stecken (9 pieces)** in his dictionaries. He mentions the game of small pebbles: **marellen** (marro), **morellen**, **molenspel** (mill game), **marella** (It.) y **ieu de merelles** (Fr.). He almost always talked about **madrellus** and **madrella**. By authority of a classic Kiliaan admitted that these were words of Celtic origin, which in translation meant games of small sticks or small branches. It is illustrative to direct our attention to

North Africa, where they still played games of alquerque with small sticks that are inserted into the sand. And nowadays mill games are sold in the big warehouses of **De Bijenkorf** in Amsterdam where you see introducing bars into holes! It is interesting to observe that after 1588 the word **domina** was not translated exclusively with **vrouwe van het huys** (house woman) and **meesteresse** (women owner), but also with **dame** (Jansen 1996, N° 47:30).

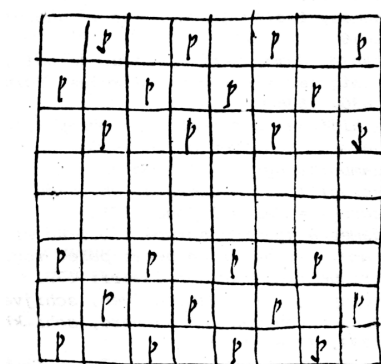
In the annex of his book Kiliaan (1588) admits words that originated from Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, or from strange origin.

Dame/damme	Domina, hera
Dame/dam-steck	Scrupulus, calculus
Damen/dammen	Ludere scrupis duodecim; vulgo ludere ad dominas
Dame-spel/dam-spel	Lusus duodecim scruporum

1590 LUDUS DOMINARUM DIFFICILIS

The name is found on a manuscript from the 15th century in the Communal Library (Biblioteca Comunale c. 1590) in Perugia (Italy). Murray (1952:72 y 78) gave the name ludus dominarum as the Latin expression that meant the game of damas (women powerful pieces). Many researchers have written about this manuscript: (Pratesi, 1987:40; Kruijswijk, 1966; Stoep, 1984:125).

An 8x8 single-color diagram is found in this manuscript of board games. The position is the same in the beginning of the game; this means 12 white pawns against 12 black pawns. The description says: ludus dominarum difficilis.



Ludus dominarum difficilis

1591 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO

His origin was in Lucena (Córdoba), and he was the author of a draughts book titled:

Libro del juego de las damas vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia 1591.

Alonso Guerra (1595) gives this author the nickname *El Marro*, while Lorenzo Valls (1597) calls him *El Andaluz*. According to what we know now, Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591) was the first author of a checkers game that describes the openings of the Spanish draughts. According to him you could find the best checkers players in Valencia and this was the reason to print his book there. This is the oldest book of checkers that we know to be found in libraries. It is also interesting to state that Pedro Ruiz Montero refers to a draughts book, previously printed in Valencia, on page 24 of his book.

1595 ALONSO GUERRA

This name appears in a manuscript of 1658 that was written again by Don Diego de Argomedo. The title is as follows:

Libro para iugar a las damas. Compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia. Reduzido assimismo en este mesmo estilo por el dicho Ldo. Don Diego de Argomedo. En este dicho Año de 1658.

Alonso Guerra (1595) also quotes, as Caro (1624) did in his manuscript, the name of another author of checkers called Valle. According to Cantalapiedra of Valladolid who has this manuscript in his possession, it could date around 1595, because he mentions positions that refer to Pedro Ruiz Montero, but not to those of Lorenzo Valls. Consequently, for Cantalapiedra this manuscript had been written sometime before 1597. More proof is needed here due to the fact that Cantalapiedra and I were wrong in the past about the work of El Canónigo which we esteemed to be from 1650 (Canónigo, 1750). However, the investigations of Viergever and Kruijswijk (Westerveld, 1996a:46) discovered that we had to date it a century later.

1597 LORENZO VALLS

This author of checkers lived in Alicante and wrote a draughts book with the title:

Libro del Juego de las damas, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta, dividido en tres tratados (...), Valencia 1597.

Lorenzo Valls (1597) tries to improve several of Pedro Ruiz Montero's (1591) positions. Beyer (1734) quotes Valls in his book.

1604 FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE UBEDA

This author left us with the following work:

II, 212 (Tercer libro, capítulo 1.)

A esto de pieça suelta les solia yo decir: por cierto, que no os entendeis; en realidad de verdura, que una moça villana (digo, de villa), yendo a ciudad, es como peon, que en yendo suelto, se haze más presto **dama**, segun dizen los jugadores del juego de los *Alva*, que es de los escaque (López, 1604/1912).

Translation:

To this loose villain qirl (I say, from a village) going to the city is like an easy going pawn that makes itself a **dama** sooner, as the players of the *Alva* games say, that is from the squares (López, 1604/1912):

(Justina se defiende contra sus hermanos que reprochan su actitud independiente)

1607 CORNELIS KILIAAN (Also called “Kiliaan the opposite”)

In Kiliaan’s dictionary (1607) we find again:

Scrupus, calculus, latro, schijve; scheve, fland. schaek-schijve; schaek-stek; dame: dam-stek; dammeler; **qua tria posteriori etiam speciatim lapidem seu globum diada in lusu valentem denotant.**

<...> the last of the 3 (powerful woman piece) is specifically the piece crowned with strength (special power) in the game.

1608 FRANCISCO QUEVEDO VILLEGAS

El Sueño de infierno (Astrana, 1932:156).

Pasé alla, y vi (qué cosa tan admirable y qué justa pena!) los barberos atados y las manos sueltas, y sobre la cabeza una guitarra, y entre las piernas un ajedrez con sus piezas de damas (...).

1611 SEBASTIAN DE COVARRUBIAS Y OROZCO

Dama

El juego de las damas con el tablero de axedrez, todos le saben; llamáronle assi por ser facil, o por el modo del jugar de las pieças, con la libertad de la dama (Covarrubias, 1611/1987:375).

Translation:

The game of checkers with a chess board, everyone knows it; calling it like that for being easy, or by the way of playing the pieces, with the freedom of the powerful woman piece (dama).

(Huarte (1575) writes about the powerful woman piece in the game of chess: Powerful woman piece (dama), noble and freed piece).

1612? FRAY GABRIEL TÉLLEZ (TIRSO DE MOLINA)

He was a writer of theatrical plays and a member of the Religious Order of Merced, best known by the nickname of Tirso de Molina, born in Madrid at the end of 1571 and died in Soria in 1648. It is said that in 14 years he wrote more than 300 comedies. In one of his dramatic plays we find the draughts game (Téllez, 1612; Ricos 1946; tome II):



Monk Gabriel Téllez

The suitor in the inverted position c. 1612; The Scene is in Nantes and its surroundings. Act One, Scene V:

Niso: ¿Shall we play for a while?

Guargueros: Chess no, draughts yes.

(.....)

Sirena: How ordinary is it for a sacristan and a barber to play draughts or chess!

Guargueros: A pawn you ought to give me, and tables.

Niso: That no. Half piece I shall give you.

Guargueros: I want to open the game, and give me the whole piece.

Niso: **Wow, do not complain about me.**

Scene VI

Guargueros: **I shall open your eyes so that you will not blow me more pieces.**

Guargueros: **It is a draw. What is there to expect? I have the long diagonal and one dama, what remedy?**

Niso: **Play, and start counting the moves; I have three kings (damas), and you will see the forced position in six moves.**

Guargueros: **¡Donoso flema!**

Corbato: **A great game you have won.**

1614 ALONSO DE BONILLA

He was a Spanish poet, born in Baeza, famous in the first part of the 17th century. He dedicated himself to mystic poetry and excelled among the religious poets of that time. He was very active and very inclined to show an exaggerated conceptism in his compositions, which is why he sometimes fell in the darkness and antinaturalism; nevertheless, he received praises from Lope de Vega and other Spanish writers. A lot of his work is known. He wrote (Bonilla, 1614) a brilliant poem about checkers¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ **BONILLA, Alonso de** (1614) *Peregrinos pensamientos de misterios divinos*, Baeza

**ROMANCE OF THE EVIL DECEPTION,
TEMPTATION OF THE DESERT;
ABOUT THE GAMES OF THE LADIES.**

<p>Aquel jugador de damas q con la dama en el huerto atrauesso de la embidia en descompassado resto. El del partido robado, que para el robo mas fiero, entabló dela malicia las pieças de su consejo. El tahur desarrapado de virtudes, el fullero que se abrasa por jugar, porque solo viue desto. Como vio la dama ociosa y acomodado el tablero, dixo, echaremos vn mate? respondio la dama echemos. Assentaronse los dos, y entablaron sus trebejos, ella blancos de inocencia, y el dela malicia negros.</p> <p>El negro jugó de mano, mas no reparò en ella en esto, por que jugaua los años de mil millones de nietos. Diole vna piedra á comer, q assi se llama en el juego, pues fue piedra aunq mãçana por ser manjar indigesto. Puesto el engañoso lance,</p>	<p>That draughtsplayer who with the dame in the garden out of wicket bet with excessive wager. The stolen party, that for the most fierce robbery, his treacherous pieces situated with hostility. The unscrupulous gambler of virtues, the cheater obsessed to play, because he lives from that As he saw the idle lady (dame) and accommodating the board, he said, shall we play? replied the lady let us play. They sat down, and set up their pieces, she white of innocence, and he black of malice.</p> <p>Black opened the game, but she did not bother that, because the bet was years of one billion grandchildren. He gave her a stone to eat, so it is called in the game, and the stone was an apple but being indigestible. Given the misleading move,</p>
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comio la dama, y comiendo
 perdio el juego totalmente
 por comer à tan mal tiempo.
 Dixo el Cielo otra mejor
 tuuo que jugar porcierto,
 que es la del libre albedrio,
 y fuera vn lance del Cielo.
 Dexarase la soplar,
 y soplaralo al infierno,
 q en el juego ay condiciones
 de no comer no queriendo.
 O si la tocò dixerá.
 enderezcote, y con esto
 endereçara su gusto
 al Diuino Mandamiento.
 Y si ella se reportara,
 asé de quien soy que entiêdo
 que no lo hiziera el tablas,
 ni aun entablara su intento.
 Apocaranse las pieças,
 y alla a los lances postreros
 ella quedara con tres
 y el cõ vna, y muy mal puesto.
 Ella con las tres potencias
 del racional intellecto,
 y el la del engaño sola,
 que le es forçoso yr huyêdo
 Pudiera tomar las calles
 dela razon y el gouierno,
 y alfin la de la justicia,
 q esta es la calle de enmedio.
 Vinieran a la forçosa,
 q ella cõ tres, y vna el negro
 sabiendole dar el mate
 fuera á pocas lances muerto.

the lady ate and eating
 she totally lost the game
 for eating at such bad moment.
 Heaven said: she would better
 have played another stone,
 that of the free will,
 being then a move of Heaven.
 If she would have letting blow,
 she would blow him to hell,
 because the game has moments
 that not eating is better.
 Or if touched the piece saying:
 I show you the right way,
 directing the free will
 to the Divine Commandment.
 And if she had control
 so who am I who understood
 he could not have made a draw,
 not even attempting that.
 In a thinning out position
 with various end moves
 she with three dames
 and he with one, badly situated.
 She with the three powers
 of the rational intellect,
 and he only by deceit
 forced to fly
 She then taking the diagonals
 of reason and government,
 and finally that of justice
 which is the long diagonal.
 Coming then to a position
 She three and black one dame.
 If she knew how to win,
 she could do it in only a few
 moves.

<p>Alfin la dama perdio, y desamparando el puesto se levantó, leuantando contra Dios el pensamiento. Dama porque se leuanta le replico luego el diestro? y ella respondio corrida leuantome porque pierdo. Este propio jugador acabo de mucho tiempo buscando con quien jugar dio con vn jugador viejo. Llegose á desafiarle, aunque su valor temiendo, que alfin los que hablã poco, dan muestras de gran cosêjo. Este jugador callado era vn moço macilento, a quien por sus lances brabos señalauan con el dedo. Era este famoso alfin porque mas nos declaremos, el que armó con su potencia las pieças del vniuerso.</p> <p>Dio priessa el descomedido, conver q el contrario diestro no se auie desayunado ni aû preuenido el sustêto. Apresuraua su daño, sin echar de ver el necio que se alcançan en ayunas mas lances, y mas secretos. El negro jugaua largo, aunque de caudal ageno, prometiendo el fanfarron</p>	<p>In the end the lady lost, and left her place to stand up against God with thought. 'Dame, why are you standing?', the expert player replied and she answered shamefully 'I stand because I lost'. This own player after a long time finding somebody to play with encountered an old player. He came to challenge him, although fearing his value, because those who speak little, show great knowledge This silent player was a weak boy who for his courageous moves was pointed at with a finger. Because after all he was famous without any doubt and the Highest Power helped him place the pieces in the universe. The greedy challenger in a hurry, seeing his expert opponent without having had breakfast, hadn't provided food either hastening his damage without seeing the fool that in fasting one gains better and ingenious moves. The black betted highly although with alien fortune promising the swagger</p>
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<p> jugar de vna mano vn reyno. Y era en efeto vn pobrete pues nunca tuuo de resto cosa que valiesse vn pan, por no poder posseerlo. Iugara su Reyno el Blanco, aunque no podia perderlo, quando su contrario fuera capaz de gozar el ceptro. Iuego demano el tahir, al contrario preuiniendo, porque si acaso es ventaja valga para su derecho. Diole vna piedra à comer, por cogerle dos de vn buelo, tentarle en vicio de gula, y conocer si era el Verbo. Viendo el cauteloso lance aquel soberano ingenio como era la ciencia misma acudio luego al remedio. Dexose soplar la piedra, sin comer, y al mismo tiêpo jugó de la que se sigue, y ganó con ella el juego. No de solo pan el hombre tiene en la tierra sustento, sino de la voluntad del que es autor de los Cielos. </p>	<p> boasting a kingdom. And it was in fact a poorte of the bet never had nothing worthy of bread, for not being able to possess it. White should have bet its kingdom, that he could not lose when its opponent was capable of enjoying the scepter. then the gambler juggled stones forstaling the rival because an apparent advantage would strengthen his position. He gave a stone to eat, for taking two in a move, tempting the greed and to know if it was the Word. Watching the cautious move that sovereign genius as it science itself then proceeded to the remedy. Letting blow the stone, without eating, at the same time played what follows, with that winning the game. Not just bread the man has on earth sustenance, but of the will of him who is author of the Heavens. </p>
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ALLEGORY OF TEMPTATIONS

The author uses the same mark – a game of checkers – and presents us two chapters of the Sacred History. The first belongs to the Old Testament and refers to the temptation of Eve in paradise. The author offers us a comparison between the game of checkers and the earthly paradise. The temptation is the game that Eve accepts:

he said, shall we play?

replied the lady let us play.

The rival of the checker – Eve – in the game is the devil's incarnation. Since the beginning of the poem the author protects us against him:

The stolen party,

The unscrupulous tahir

of virtues

and he of malice, black

And he does not discover his real identity later, the eternalizing evil:

because the bet was years

of one billion grandchildren.

The piece to be captured, presented in the game, symbolizes the apple offered to Eve by the evil. Eve falls into temptation and loses the game, because she does not use the possibility of not capturing the offered piece. Heaven criticizes the game of checkers and directs its own strategy because it was expected that the white piece would be blown by the black, whereby she would not have fallen into temptation whereby the forces of sense, direction, and justice would have been valid against disillusion. These three concepts identify themselves with the three white kings (damas) that the lady should have played against the black king (dama) of the opponent, the disillusion.

The second chapter is about the New Testament and is based on the temptations that Christ suffered on the desert. God makes himself a

man and plays against the devil on the same checkers board. A young player presents the figure of Christ:

**he was a weak boy
who for his courageous moves
was indicated with a finger.**

And at the same moment with big experience:

he encountered an old player.

Consequently the author uncovers the identity of the young man to the reader:

**and the Highest Power placing
the pieces in the universe.
that sovereign genius
as was it science itself**

But the black doesn't discover the figure, which tried to seduce Him and wished to determine if his opponent in effect was the word (God). The description of the temptations suffered by Christ on the desert is clear. On the first description the black offers him a kingdom that he doesn't have (In the New Testament the devil says to Christ: If you worship me, I will give you everything). On the second temptation the comparison between the game of checkers is continued and tries to awaken the voracity, the black offers a piece to eat and the white declines the offering and lets him blow on his piece, after which it ends his game with victory.

1615 GONZALO DE CÉSPEDES Y MENESES (1585 - 1638)

He was a Spanish literary and historian, born in Madrid in 1585 and died in 1638. He wrote many plays among which we find one that according to Jansen doesn't describe the game of checkers, but the game of chess (Céspedes, 1615). A young man plays a game of chess with the lady of the house in the absence of her husband. She makes advancements and says:

Muchos dias há que sé con particular experiencia este juego de damas, el cual puedo decir me cuesta larga inquietud y pérdida de hacienda.

Translation:

For many days have I got particular experience of this game of checkers, which I can say troubles me dearly.

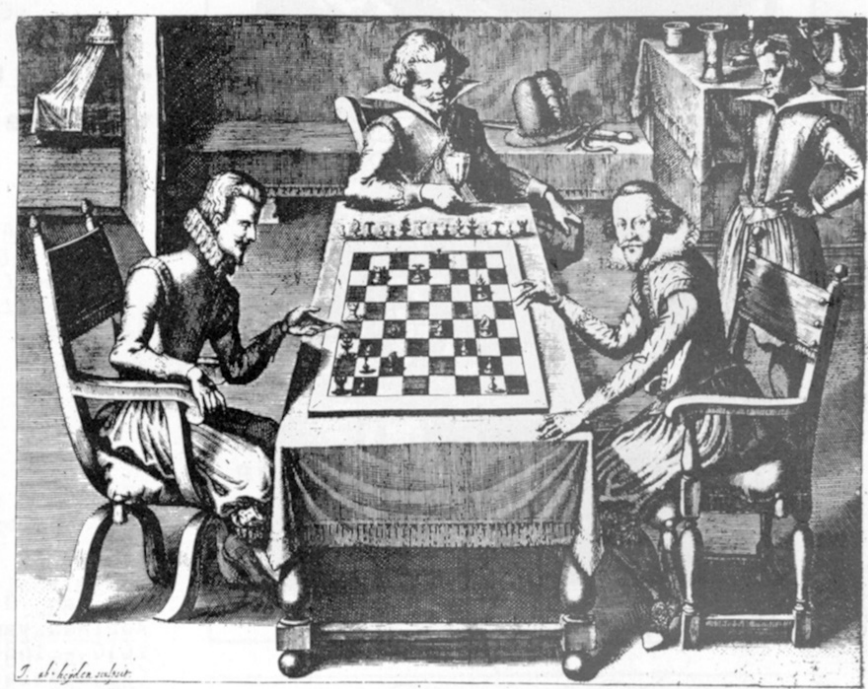
This means that in Spain in the 16th and 17th century it was played and speculated a barbarity, which resulted in many descriptions that can be found of the different plays from this period of time and which José Deleito *and* Piñuela (1987), Néstor Luján (1988), and Etienvre (1987) quote. Many laws were introduced to prohibit the game (Royal Privileges 1535; Tyerri 1538; Brocar 1540; Pragmatic 1549; Gómez 1568; Madrigal 1594).

1616 GUSTAVUS SELENUS (1579 - 1666)

Gustavus Selenus (pseudonym of **Augustus von Braunschweig und Lüneburg**) wrote about the game of checkers (Selenus, 1616). The term “Konig Spiel” in the title of his book is also found in Vergilius (1550, Lib II:124; 1663, Lib II:255).

Ebener massen erwehnet Bernardin: Rutilius J.C. in Vitis Veterum JC Torum, in vitâ P. Mutij Scaevolae, pág: 197,198. eines Spieles von zwelf steinen welches dieser fúrtrefliche Jurist sehr künstlich sol gespielet haben und möchte vielleicht (so ferne nicht das jehnige Spiel so man bei uns das Dammen Spiel nennet und auf einem Schach Brete mit vier und zwanzig nemlich zwelf weissen und zwelf schwarzen runde steinen welche auf sechs zwerch=linien jeh vier Steine auf einer linie in vier und zwanzig felder von gleicher farbe gesetzt und zwo ledige zwerch=linien zwischen diese beide Hauffen gelassen werden spielet darunter verstanden wird) **der Alte Schach** (dessen beschreibung drunten im neunten Cap: des letzten Buches zu

befinden) aus welchem dieser zu unserer zeit gebräuchliche genommen und auf uns gebracht gemeinet sein: Dan man in demselben zwölf haupt und zwölf geringere Steine gebraucht: doch kan man nichts gewisses davon schliessen: es sind gedanken und geben in etwas nachdenken: man mag folgende Authores, alsz **Theod: Zvvingerum**, in seinem *Theatro Humanae vitae*, Volum: 21. lib: 3. pag: 3738. 3786. **Ciceronem** lib: 1. de Orat: und **Quintilianum**, lib: 12, deszwegen noch aufschlagen.



Gustavus Selenus

Translation:

This way Bernardin (.....) also mentions: pages 197, 198, a game with 12 pieces, which would highlight this excellent jurist and maybe this game was (if not the same game we call checkers, played on a

chessboard with 24 pieces: that is, 12 white and 12 black round pieces, in 6 diagonals, placing 4 pieces in each row, in 24 boxes of the same color and with two empty rows between both groups of pieces) the old chess (which is described below, in the ninth chapter of the last book) from which the current chess developed: however, this game uses 12 major pieces and 12 less important ones: but you cannot say anything with certainty, those are thoughts to regard; these writings can be checked out, Theodo: (...)

1617 DANIËL DE SOUTER (1571-1634)

The famous encyclopedia *Palamedes* appeared from his pen. Although this book is about the Roman and Greek games, it also uses draughts, which he saw being played in his time as comparison material (Souter, 1617; Jansen 1991, N° 19:3).

1. caput XX: Tabula, in qua latrunculis ludebatur apud veteres, tota lineis districta, et unicuique calculo suus locus ac sua sedes attributa, nec aliter hodie est apud nos Tabula enim lusoria quadraturis discoloribus alternatim positis distincta est, et in illis loculis quadratis locari solent calculi. Atque hic ludus nihil, aut parum, distabat à nostro, quem vocamus Dominarum ioco, qui tamen triginta tantum calculis luditur: quindecim albis, et quindecim rubeis.
(Dame; Belgis dammen).

Free Translation:

The board of the game played with small rocks by the ancients was subdivided into lines and each small rock was awarded its own place and position, and **this gameboard is not different from ours today**. This means that the board was subdivided into different colored alternative squares and the small rocks were placed in these small squared spaces. This game had no, or very little, difference from our game that we call checkers, which nevertheless had only 30 small rocks; 15 white and 15 red ones.

1620 CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS (1588-1653)

Claude Saumase was a distinguished French wise man. He studied in Paris and Heidelberg and was a teacher in Leiden since 1632. In one of his Latin works (Brunet, 1891:204) Saumase particularly talks about the Greek game of diagramismos. After quoting a passage from *Hesychius*, which supports his description, *Saumase* adds a valiant notation (Salmasius, 1620):

Hic ludus nihil aut parum distabat a nostro, quem vocamus, dominarum ioco: qui triginta tamen tantum calculis luditur, quindecim albis, et quindecim rubeis.

Free Translation:

This game is a little different from ours which we call checkers and that is played only with 30 pieces, 15 white and 15 red.

1624 RODRIGO CARO

He was a poet and archaeologist, born in Utrera in 1573 and deceased in 1647. He studied at the University of Osuna since 1591 until the culmination of his studies in 1596. He practiced law in his hometown of Utrera for 24 years. Caro is one of the most important figures in the Spanish literature and his great merits as an archaeologist, biographer, bibliographer, historian, and bilingual poet are worthy of bringing to attention. He wrote the work *Los días geniales ó Lúdicos* (The Great or Fun Days) (Caro, 1624/1978) in which he talks about many games, amongst them draughts. And we see:

Don Diego.

Are the draughts and chess games old?

Don Fernando.

The one of draughts is very much, and chess a little less. The checkers and draughts pieces are named ψηφιχ in the Latin and Greek tongue ψηφιχ

(...) About this game a man from Valencia wrote a book that I saw printed and read a few years ago, and another one called Valle.

This work was preserved handwritten and contains 6 dialogues. In chapter 5 Caro describes the game of checkers. He also conceives checkers as an ancient game and mixes of several games for also including *Isidoro de Sevilla* in his study of checkers. From the texts it turns out that checkers was previously played differently and several Latin authors are quoted, suggesting that the ancient game (alquerque or thieves?) was a precursor of checkers. The authors cited in his work are Alessandri (1522, book III, chapter 21), Boulenger (1598), Meurs (1618), Panvinus (1601), Gruyterus (1602), Marcial (book 14, epig. 17; or 18 in the modern works), Lucano (1589:355), Pólux (1608, book IX, chapter. 7, 98, p. 440), Scaligero (1589) Ovidio (book III, 356-359), Cicerón (Fragm., V, 60), San Isidro, Tournebous, Séneca, Quintiliano (lib. XI, 2, 38), Suidas (1581:902). Caro copied different texts of the games, written in Latin, from the book *Pantoja de Ayala* (1624). Caro also used different dictionaries, among them ones by Calepino (1502), Mirabelius (1507), Textor (1522). Jean-Pierre Etienvre (Caro, 1624/1978: 204) says that Valle is Lorenzo Valls (1597), but it remains a fact that Cantalapiedra owns a manuscript by Alonso Guerra (1595) in which the name Valle is also found and which makes this hypothesis bold, and we cannot admit it without further ado.

1624 THOMAS DE TAMAYO DE VARGAS (1588-1641)

Spanish literary, born in Madrid in 1588 and died in the same city in 1641. He studied in Toledo, acquiring deep knowledge of the sacred sciences, classic and historical languages, and obtained a chair in Toledo. In 1621 he was appointed secretary of the Spanish embassy in Venice and later became the successor of Antonio de Herrera as chronicler of Castile. He wrote many works and his manuscript

(Tamayo, 1624) that describes many books of the sixteenth and seventeenth century and of which, among others, Nicolao Antonio also took his data is known. This manuscript cites the book of checkers by Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591). Pedro Pantoja de Ayala (1625,123r) refers to the “*Indice de Thomas de Tamayo de Vargas*”. The study of this manuscript has not provided us with more data.

1625 PANTOJA DE AYALA

Pantoja de Ayala (1625) was one of the sources for the manuscript of the games of Rodrigo Caro (1624/1978). His work, of legal nature, was written in Latin and was about the games with at least 272 pages. Pratesi (1995, N° 40:8-9) has studied this work in detail thanks to Clodius (1761) and Otto (1744, 1733) and we reflect the most important text in Latin here:

Hic ludus adhuc apud nos viget, et vocamus eum *de las Damas*: cum duo oppositi unusquisque duodecim calculis, albis aut nigris, quasi in bello adversarium aggreditur, et in medio diversi colori deprehensum, captivum ducit, et devorat; qui autem in linea media est positus, quam calle de en medio nominamus, per eam currit, et recurrit tamquam in asylo securus.

Translation:

This game is still played by us and we call it checkers. When two players, each one with 12 pieces, white or black, attack the enemy as in a war, and a piece is cornered between two pieces of another color, then it is captured and removed. However, a piece that instead has been placed on the so-called *calle de en medio*, can move among other pieces and is then safe, if it were a place of refuge.

The manner of capturing has been clearly formulated, in order to coincide with what we call the old way; that is to say by cornering an enemy piece between two pieces of the own color. (Pratesi 1995, No. 40: 9)

Pantoja de Ayala mixes the old game (thieves?) with checkers in 1624. Precisely at this time a piece was captured jumping over the enemy piece. Capturing by cornering has probably been copied from the old Latin authors, because (from what we know) this way of capturing did not exist at the first moment of (the invention) playing checkers. It could have been a usual rule in the forerunners of draughts.

1630 PHILIBERT MONET

- Dames, tables à ioïer sur le damier, sur le tablier (...) Dame, double dame, deux tables l'une sure l'autre, au jeu de dames (...) La dame emporte les tables, autant en arriere, comme en avant (....).

- Le ieu que nous pratiquons avec les tables, Le Romains le traitoient avec des cailloux, ou mereaux, dont lui est demeuré le nom de Scrupi (...)

- Table, dame, petite plaque de bois, plate, et ronde, à ioïer sur le damier, ou echiquier (....) Trictrac, ieu de tables et de dés ensemble, sur le tablier (..)

The work of Monet (1630) has been referred by, among others, the historian Van der Stoep (1981, number 65, in the magazine *Dammagazine*.

1635 JUAN DE TIMONEDA (1518 - 1583)

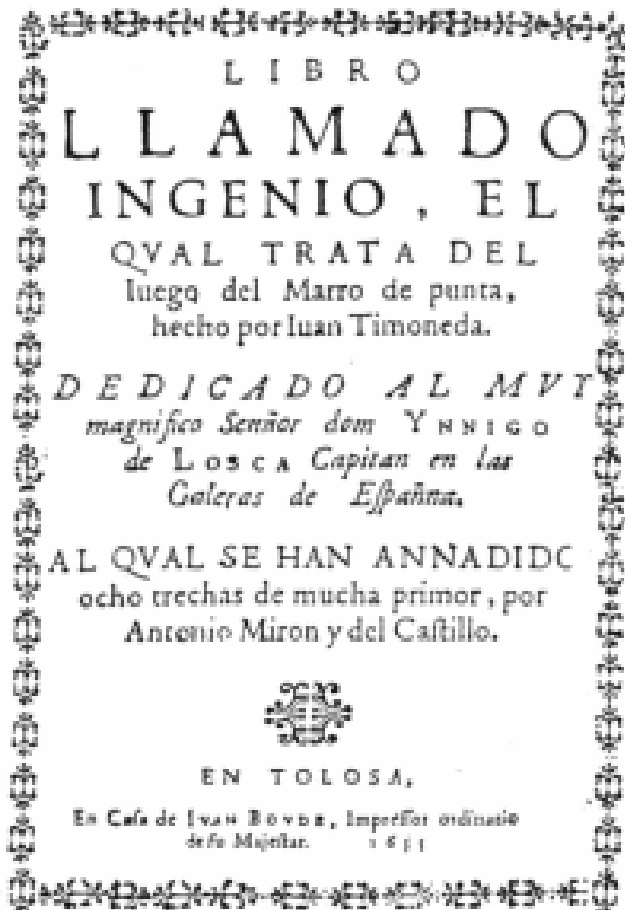


Poet, writer, publisher, and bookseller, who probably was the owner of various manuscripts or checkers books. His name is found in a checkers book (Timoneda, 1635) with the title:

Weapon of Juan de Timoneda

Libro llamado Ingenio, el cual trata del Juego del Marro de punta", hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa 1635.

The texts found in the book are in my opinion at least from 1550. Also see the chapter of *Timoneda* for more details.



Book of Juan de Timoneda, 1635

1639 FRANCISCO QUEVEDO VILLEGAS

Romance: Lundo gusto tiene el tiempo. (Astrana, 1932:369)

Pues a quién no hara reir/ verle mondar una calva,/ para que puedan las moscas/ con más descanso picarla,/ Y muy falsito ponerse,/ como que juega a las damas,/ unas sopla y otras come,/ negras unas y otras blancas? (...)

Here is described how the time abrades several parts of the body. (Here, in fact, baldness).

1646 GEORG PHILIPP HARSDÖRFFER

It is surprising that one cannot discover whether draughts was known in books of checkers in the seventeenth century in Germany, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1646:326-331) devoted a few pages of this game in his book to how you could practice playing with living people. The book contains this interesting drawing. In this image you can see that the notation was not performed correctly.

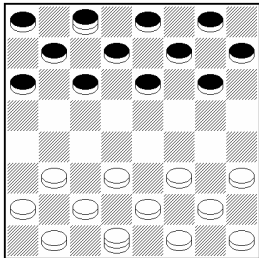


Game of checkers with living people

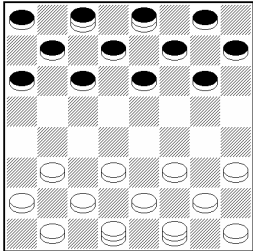
1650 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS

Spanish writer of a book of checkers that deals with openings. The work has 144 pages and was reprinted in 1656. Juan García Canalejas was from Granada and he, like Pedro Ruiz Montero, also considered it necessary to print his book outside his place of residence. Many of his

endgames have a connection with Alonso Guerra and Timoneda.
(García, 1650).



Opening with one Dama



Opening with two Damas



Book of Juan García Canalejas, 1650

c. 1650 LE IEV DE DAMES, QUE MONSIEUR LE PRINCE DE CONDÉ À IOÜÉ AVEC MONSIEUR GUITAULT.

These texts were discovered by the Frenchman Simonata (Jansen, 1996). The text is about the arrest of Condé by the captain of the personal guard of the queen's mother (18.1.1650).



Louis II de Bourbon, dit le Grand Condé

Monsieur Guitault parlant à Monsieur le Prince.

Vous plaisez vous au Ieu de Dames.

Monsieur le Prince. Quelque fois ie m'y diuertis, & ie m'y plais fort quand i'ay le dessus, & que ie puis Damer.

Monsieur Guitault. Pour moy, il y a si long-temps que ie n'y ay ioüé que ie croy auoir oublié le ieu.

Monsieur le Prince. Quand on le sçay parfaitement, on ne peut iamais l'oublier.

Monsieur Guitault. Ie n'ose ioüer avec vous, i'ay peur de n'estre pas assez fort.

Monsieur le Prince. Ie n'y ay iamais bien ioüé, & n'y scay aucune finesse, ie ne fais que remuer toutes mes Dames l'une apres l'autre sans ordre, & à la fin ie m'en trouve mal.

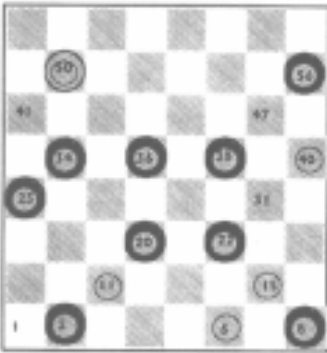
Monsieur Guitault. Ie m'hazarderay donc de ioüer vne partie, mais il faut que i'aye l'aduantage de Trois pions,

autrement ie ne puis ioüer.
Monsieur le Prince. Ce que tu pouras prendre en iouant, ie te le
 donne.
Monsieur Guitault. Ie m'en vais donc commencer.
Monsieur le Prince. Ie ne sçay desia plus que ioüer.
Monsieur Guitault. Auancez, vous estes en seureté.
Monsieur le Prince. I'ay Trois Pions qui sont en grand danger.
Monsieur Guitault. Ie les prendray si ie puis.
Monsieur le Prince. Il faut que ie tache à les sauuer.
Monsieur Guitault. Ie vous en empescheray bien.
Monsieur le Prince. Tu ne me donne aucun quartier.
Monsieur Guitault. Voyla vn beau coup de Trois que ie vais faite.
Monsieur le Prince. C'est ce qui sera cause de ma perte.
Monsieur Guitault. Vous auez mal ioüé, vous ne sçauriez plus alir à
 Dames.
Monsieur le Prince. C'est vne Dame, qui me nuit.
Monsieur Guitault. Vostre Ieu ne vaut plus rien.
Monsieur le Prince. I'ay esté trompé, ie pensois faire vn coup de
 Trois, mais tu m'en a fait vn plus beau.
Monsieur Guitault. Il falloit vser de preuoyence.
Monsieur le Prince. Il n'est plus temps, ie ne puis pas resister, tu as
 mis trop bon ordre à ton ieu.
Monsieur Guitault. Vne autre-fois vous jouërez mieux.
Monsieur le Prince. Si ie me fusse défait d'un Pion, i'auois gaigné,
 mais ie ne croiois pas que le Ieu iroit de la
 façon.
Monsieur Guitault. Il faut que vous quittiez.
Monsieur le Prince. Si tu n'estois point si fort ie pourois me sauuer,
 mais ie suis pris, ie n'ay plus de Dames.
Monsieur Guitault. C'est assez joué, il est tard, ie vais serrer les
 pions de peur qu'ils ne se perdent.

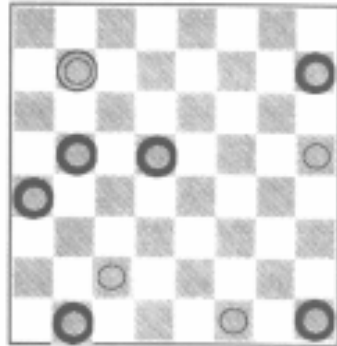
1651 GEORG PHILIPP HARSDÖRFFER

Cap. X die 37. Aufgabe (p. 422/423)

In dem Dammspiel seinem Gegner in einem Damm die 10 Stein oder 6 Dammen auf einen Zug zu nehmen und die 12 schliessen. Die Steine müssen darnach gesetzt seyn und sind allhier die Felder soviel derselben dienen zu leichtern Verstand dieses Stückleins mit der Zahlordnung verzeichnet. Die vier weissen Steine sind 6, 11, 40 and 50 eine Damm gestellt wie hier zu sehen. Die 6 schwarzen Dammen sind mit 2 Ringen bemercket und darunter bleiben an ihren Orten stehen 25, 34, 36 - (6-15), 2. springt über 11 in 20 - (40-47), 8 über 15 in 22. Alsdann ziehet 50 in 41, 56 über 47 in 38, und springt über 34, über 20, 22, 38, 36 und schliesset 25 ein. Doch man musz bedingen dasz man nehmen musz, und dasz der mit den weissen Steinen anziehet. (Harsdörffer, 1651).



Position in the book



Position to which it refers

Translation:

In checkers capture your opponent with a lady, 10 pieces, or six ladies in one move blocking the 12. You must place the pieces as follows and for this reason there are numbers on each square to easily put the pieces in their place. The white pieces are placed in 6, 11, 40 and there is a lady at 50 as you can see here. The six black ladies are indicated with two rings and stay in their places 25, 34, 36. The whites play 6-

15. The black in 2 jumps over 11 to 20. The white plays 40-47. The black in 8 jumps over 15 to 22. So the white plays 50 to 41. The black in 56 jumps over 47 to 38. The white jumps over 34, over 20, 22, 38, 36, and blocks the black piece in 25. Capturing is mandatory and the white starts the game.

We see the word **dame** translated as Damm (spiel). This is also curiously the case of the card game where the word **dame** is translated as dam (Hoffman, 1972:44). The word **dame** has not been studied in the game of cards and this could probably also help in the research of the origin of the word **dame**. The best bibliographic work of this game has been elaborated by Depaulis (1994).

1653 GEORG PHILIPP HARSDÖRFFER

In 1653 this author included an image of a game of *living chess* (Harsdörffer, 1653:405) in his book.

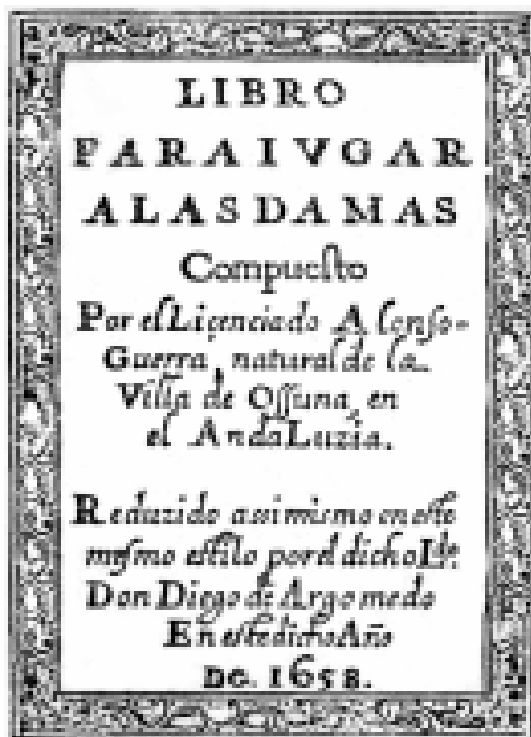


Chess with living people, 1653

The title of his book **Delitiae philosophiae et mathematicae** - *Der philosophischen und mathematischen Erquickstunden* - was already found in 1636 in Daniel Schwenter (1585-1636) (Schwenter 1636, volume I:399). It was a German elaboration of the French work **Récréations mathématiques**, which was printed in 1626 (reissue in 1970) (Kruijswijk, 1966:93). Both in the German and in the French original translation there is high hope that a treaty on checkers would soon appear.

1658 DIEGO DE ARGOMEDO

This name is found in a manuscript from 1658. The title is:



Spanish checkers manuscript
(with texts from c. 1595)

Libro para iugar a las damas. Compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia. Reduzido assimismo en este mesmo estilo por el dicho Ldo. Don Diego de Argomedo. En este dicho Año de 1658.

See also the chapter on *Timoneda* where the work has been more widely described. (Alonso Guerra, 1595).

1660 JUAN DE ZAVALETA (1626-1667)

Spanish writer of dramatic works, born in Madrid in 1626 and died in 1667. He wrote many verses and books. In one of his works we find two pages on checkers. Here we reflect the most important parts:

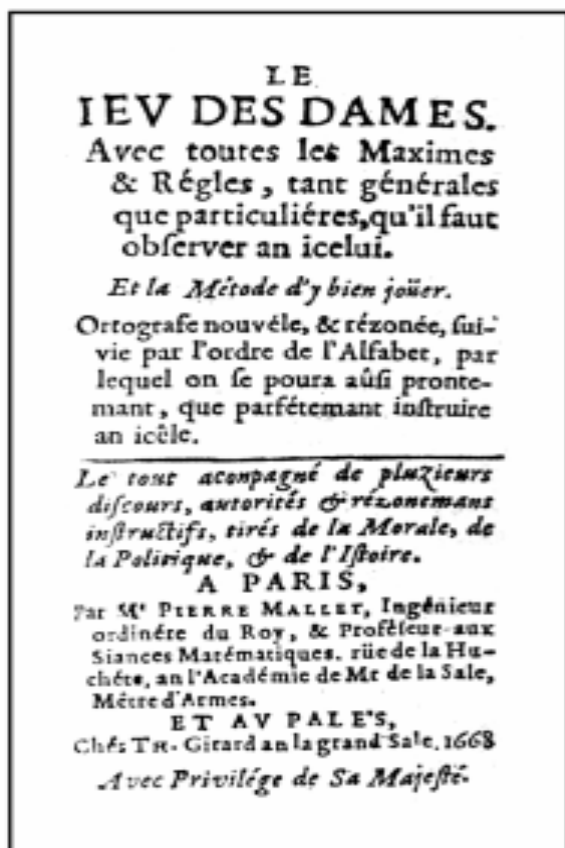
El Iuego De Las Damas

Ya han formado sus esquadrones el flematico y el Boticario, y presenta el vna la batalla. (...) No apartan los ojos de los escaques; no se atreuen a mouer la mano sin larga consulta (Zavaleta, 1660). (...) Buelue el muchacho a pedir en voz mayor el recado, porque viene. Entreoyele el Boticario, y haze en aquel tiempo vna dama (....).

Translation:

The Game of Checkers

The phlegmatic and the apothecary have already formed their squadrons, and one presents the battle (...). They do not take their eyes off the squares; they do not dare to move the hand without long contemplation (Zavaleta, 1660). (...) The boy returns to ask for the message in louder voice, because it comes. The apothecary hears him and crowns a pion to king. (...).



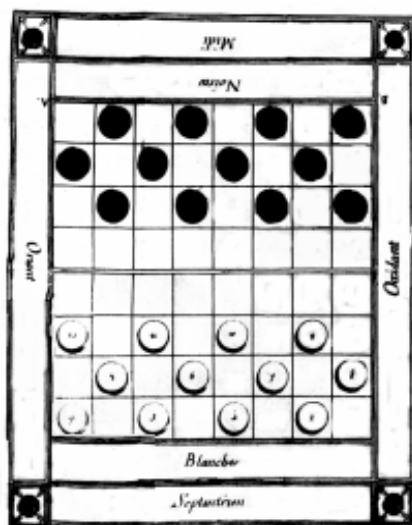
The first French book of checkers, 1668

1668 PIERRE MALLET

This author dedicated over 400 pages to the first book of checkers in France. Pages 11 to 59 are rather a treatise on the dogmas of spelling. Many diverse subjects that have practically nothing to do with the game of checkers are touched on in detail in his book. Compared to the first Spanish book of checkers, this French book of checkers has little to do with checkers and can be considered a poorly written manual for

it. However, the following passages are probably interesting to reflect: (Mallet, 1668) page 271:

Chacun sèt, que tous les Européans ont une très-grande estime pour le Jeu des Dames, & principalement les Septantrionaux: et quoi que les Alemans, aûsi-bien que les Espagnols, & les Italiens, estiment beaucoup le Ieu des Echês; ils n'an êment pas moins le Dames, ils an sont autant ou plus pâsionés que les Francés.



The French game of checkers in 1668

page 432: *Les Dames simples, ou Pions, en peuvent prandre les Dames damées.*

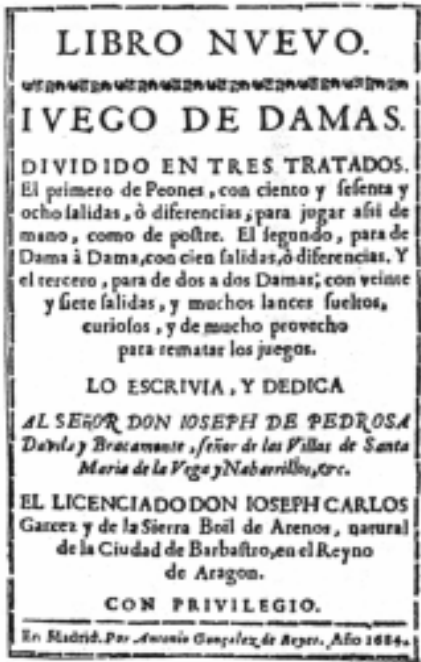
From the above it appears that in the seventeenth century the checkers pieces were called both **pions** and **dames** in France. In Spain in the sixteenth century the checkers pieces were called **peones** and the game was played with a piece that looked like a chess pawn. After the seventeenth century round tokens were introduced in Spain, but the checkers pieces were still called **peones**. Was the situation similar in France? Everything indicates that people in France around 1500 began to play with round tokens that were called **dame(s)** in the different

games. The term **pion** was probably maintained in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but the checkers pieces were round. We see it in the image of the checkerboard found in the book of Pierre Mallet (1668).

1684 JOSEPH CARLOS GARCEZ

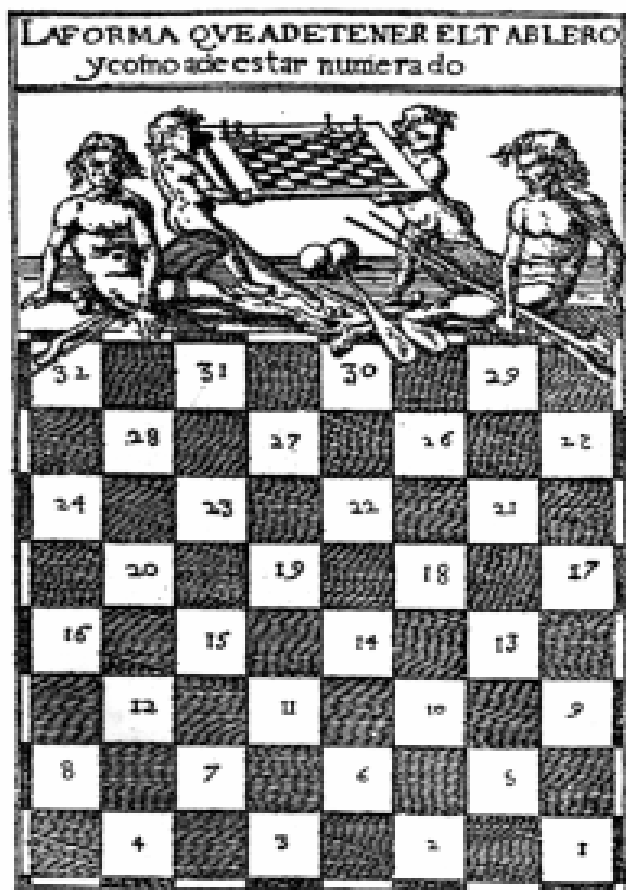
Again a Spanish book of checkers, this time by an author from the town of Barbastro in the kingdom of Aragon (Garcez, 1684). At the end he mainly copies Garcia (1650). In his book we find the rules of the game and its title is:

Libro Nuevo. Juego de damas, dividido en tres tratados (....).



Joseph Carlos Garcez, 1684

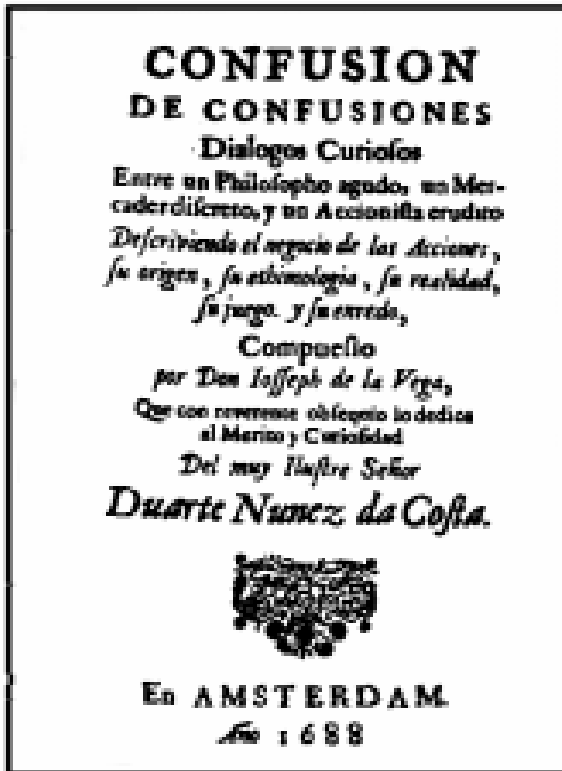
As in Timoneda's book, we see in this book that checkers was practiced with a type of pawns similar to those of chess.



Play checkers with pawns

1688 VEGA, JOSSEPH DE LA (1650 - 1693)

He was a merchant, playwright, and poet, born in Amsterdam and died in the same city in 1693. His father was born in Spain and lived in the province of Cordoba; he was a banker and a wealthy man. He ran away from Spain with his family, He had 4 sons and 6 daughters. At the beginning he wanted to be a rabbi, but he became a merchant. Josseph de la Vega gave in his book (Vega, 1688) a detailed description of the business market and what life was like in the Amsterdam Stock Exchange. On one of its pages he talks about checkers, but it is easily understood that this is an allusion to the fright that the Jews suffered by the Spanish Inquisition.



Josseph de la Vega, 1688

Diálogo

Página 30: No es juego de Damas nuestro juego, en que no se salta de casa negra á casa blanca; porque en un punto vemos passar de las luzes á los horrores quedando unos en blanco, otros negros, y muchos oscuros; barrajarse las casas, confundirse las órdenes, soplarse las tablas; antes parece Axedrez en que siguen las piessas extradordnarios rumbos, ya graves, ya fugitivos, ya descompuestos, ya retorcidos, ya pausados, y atendiendo cada una á su designio para procurar lograr cada una su triumpho; unas caminan, otras corren, estas atraviessan, aquellas saltan, y todas comen.

Translation:

Page 30: Checkers is not our game, in which one jumps from a black square to a white square; because at one point we see passing from the lights to the horrors, some being white, some black, and many dark; to shelter houses, to confuse orders, to blow pieces; it seems rather chess in which the pieces follow extraordinary courses, already grave, already fugitive, already decomposed, already twisted, already paused, and attending each one to its design to try to achieve its triumph; some walk, some run, these pass, those jump, and they all capture.

1694 HYDE, THOMAS (1636-1703)

Thomas Hyde (1636-1703) was an English orientalist and Hebrew professor at Queens College in Oxford around 1658. He studied Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Chinese. He also wrote several books, among which in the first of the two Latin volumes of *Ludis Orientalibus* he researches the origin of chess and in which Hyde concluded that the game was invented in India (Illustrated Universal Encyclopedia 1980, volume 28, page 784). In his book Hyde also describes the game of checkers.

(Hyde, 1694b). The Latin and Hebrew texts were recently translated by Keats (1994). Hyde copied many things from Covarrubias, so we have to refer to this author. Hyde (1694) thought that the word **dame**

was originally from the German word **dam**, but he could not support his claim with evidence.



Thomas Hyde

On pages 181-182 we find:

De Ludis orientalibus

Hispani quatuor hujus Ludi Nomina habent: quorum unum est **Las Damas**, superius dictum. Alterum est **alquerque**. Tertium est **Castro**; quartum **Real**.

De his Covarrubias, *el padre Guadix dize que el nombre alquerque es arábigo, y lo mesmo que en castellano llamamos castro, porque tiene semejança el tablero rayado donde se juega, a castramentación lineada en planta. Deinde sub nomine Castro, idem Covarrubias, dicit: Castro, lo que por otra nombre llamamos Real, etc. y porque la planta suya esta lineada, y se parece a las rayas del Tablero, en que los muchachos juegan con unas pedreçuelas. Llamaron este juego el Castro. (See Chapter on Castro)*

Pedro de Alcala in voce Alquerque, hoc suo modo literis Hispanicis esprimitt Arabice Querque. Diego de Urrea apud Covarrubiam citatus, deducit Alquerque ab Arabico Herequet, i.e. motio. Iste autem pessimè fallitur; cum ex Camûsi Autoritate planè scribendum sit Alkirk per Kesram, quod à quibusdam sonatur Alkerk. Sed benè notandum est quod Hispani (sec Covarrubiam) perperam.

Huic Ludo tribuerunt hoc Nomen Arabicum ab Arabibus Mauris acceptum, quod reverà planè pertinet ad alium Ludum qui in hoc libello occurrit sub nomine Triodion; ubi de hac re fusius dicitur. Arabes autem nec Africani nec Asiatici (quatenus comperi) ullum huic latrunculorum Ludo nomen aptârunt: ideóque nec illis olim fuisse credamus.

On page 185 we see:

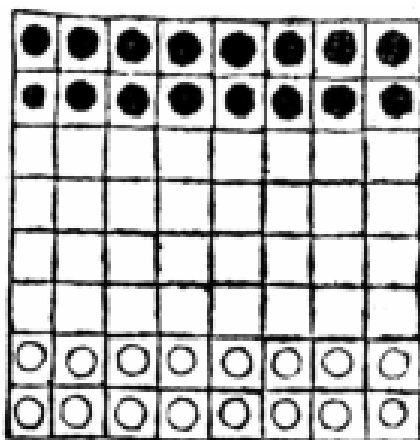
Restat verò ut de ratione ludendi dicamus. De hac re Covarrubias, *Alquerque es un juego de piedreçillas, sobre un tablero rayado que haze diversos quadros, y por las rayas vam moviêdo, y quando hallan tercera casa vacía del contrario, passan a ella, ganándole la piedra que estava en medio; que algunas vezes acaece ser dos y tres, y si pudiendo tomar, no lo haze, pierde la suya, y por termino propio se la soplan. . (See Chapter of Alquerque)*

Most of the data that Hyde mentions about Covarrubias are already described in the chapter of **Andarraya**, so I shall not return to this. Kruijswijk (1966: 167) describes the Turkish game of checkers in detail and also quotes Hyde:

Hic Ludus apud turcas aliquando appellatur atlanbâgj, nunc europaeorum modo dama, quorum illud (...) dogri i.e. recta, hoc vero ters, i.e. oblique movetur.

The Turkish game is an orthogonal game and is sometimes called **atlanbaj** and **dama** in the European way. On page 184 Hyde also describes a game of checkers in which all squares are used and which is played with 12 and 16 pieces on both sides of the board. The pieces move diagonally, but the way to capture them is not mentioned. This type of game would be played by both the Turks and the Germans.

Sunt ex germanis, ut et quoque turcae, qui 12 aut 16 calculis ex utrâque parte utuntur. Eorumque tabella hac formâ construitur, et calculi semper oblique moventur, tamquam ex insidiis hostes ad orientes, ideoque insidiosi milites vocantur

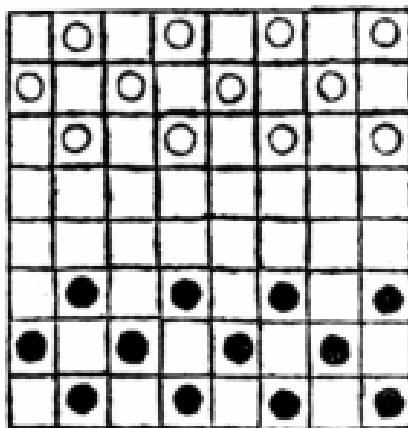


Hyde's Turkish checkers

Hyde includes two diagrams in his book: one from Turkish checkers and the other from European checkers. Both diagrams are boards of one colour. This is correct in Turkish draughts, but in the European game of diagonal move the squares of the board had two colours. Hyde understands by draughts two types of games: one game in which

players capture by jumping over an enemy piece and the other game by cornering an enemy piece between two own pieces.

According to Hyde the French and English practiced this game on a chessboard, where it was not necessary to have alternately white and black squares. There are 12 pieces on both sides of the game according to the diagram here. We see here that the pieces do not cross each other in the game, so that you cannot capture by jumping and this implies that one should capture by cornering. We do not believe in this game and think that it could hardly have been practical in Europe. Apparently Hyde described a game completely unknown to him.



Hyde's European checkers

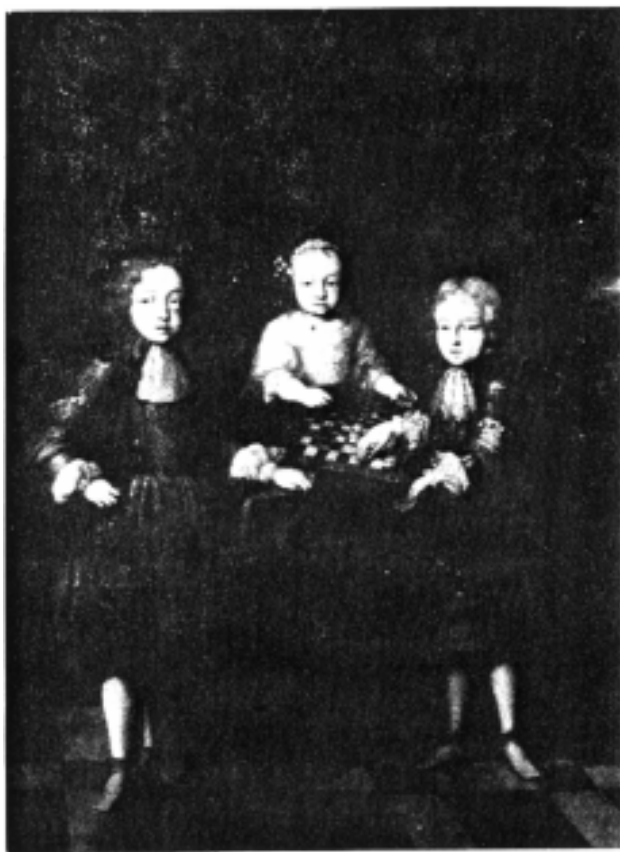
In addition, the situation becomes much more complicated when we see the same game described in *The academy of armory or a storehouse of armory and blazon 1681*: (Holme 1688, book III: 264) where it says that we must capture diagonally! Jansen (1989, No. 7: 7) now believes that it was probably meant:

-one party setting on the white and the adverse party on the black squares.

Draughts - is a play on a chess board or the back of a pair of tables (which generally have four rows of squares made upon it, viz. 4 of

black and 4 of white interchangeably) and are set with the table men, one party setting on the white and the adverse party on the black. The play is to remove each man corner ways.

A similar game is seen in a painting by an unknown painter who painted c. 1690 the three grandsons of the French king Lodewijk XIV, while they play a game with pieces on a board of 100 pictures. In the box there are 9 black pieces on the white squares and 11 white pieces on the black squares. (Stoep 1985, No. 111:3994; Stoep 1994, N°.39:35).



The 3 grandchildren of Lodewijk XIV, c. 1690



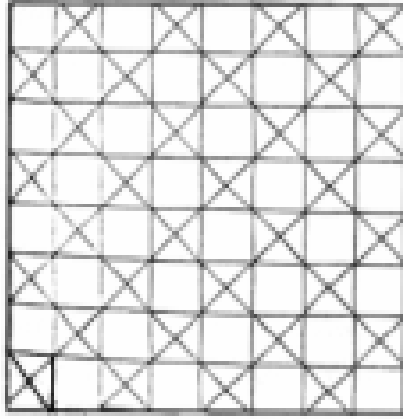
9 black pieces on the white squares and 11 white pieces on the black squares.



Apart from this event we also see the same board in Nicolas Arnoult (dated 1692). The board of checkers has 4 pawns in four white squares and the rest in black squares. Below the engraving appears the following text:
(Bonus Socius, 1977:137)

Le jeu de dames
Il faut dans ce beau jeu
beaucoup de patience
Profiter de l'occasion
S'estimer sans présomption
Et fair tout avec prudence.

Nicolas Arnoult, 1692



A draughts board in a German manuscript from c. 1700

1700 JOHANN WOLFGANG SCHMIDT

As in every country, Germany had a long preliminary period before knowledge about checkers blossomed into a book. One can't say how old its knowledge of the game was, and research is difficult even for the Germans, but it is noticeable that it produced a description long before this is found for England. In 1616 Gustavus Selenus, Grand Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, said that Damenspiel was played on a chessboard with 24 round men (....). About 30 years later a much more surprising development was talked about. In a work published in Nurnberg, P.D. Harzdorffer tells how to play at 'What do you think? Checkers with Living pieces!' (...) It shows that checkers was well know in Germany at the time, and about fifty years later the first book was written about it. It was written in Nurnberg by J.W. Schmidt (1700) who describes himself as a Crystal and Glasscutter - evidently with a view of publishing, but it never reached that stage. It now exists in an MS in the Prussian State Library of Berlin (Alexander 1924, N° 7:161).

THE TERM DAMA IN DICTIONARIES

LEXICOGRAPHIC TREASURE 1492-1726, S.G. GAYA

In the book of *Gaya* (67) we do not get much information about the game of checkers. Only a reference from 1692. The first reference to the game of chess is in the dictionary of Alcalá in 1505.

- Nebrija* 1492: **Dama** es casi señora, domina, ae
Aquí se equivoca Gaya, lea Nebrija 1495
- Alcalá* 1505: **Dama** en el juego de axedrez, ferze, ferzit.
(Alcala, 1505)
- Venegas* 1565: **Damas** quiere dezir matronas, que son las
grandes señoras (Venegas, 1565)
- Casas* 1570: **Dama**, damicella; dama animal, **dama**,
damma. (Casas, 1570)
- Brocense* 1580: **Damas**, dominas, dueñas, Veneg. Puede ser
de griego. (Sánchez, 1580)
- Percival* 1599: f. a **dame**, a ladie. Also the queene at chesse
play. (Percival, 1599)
- Rosal* 1601: El griego llama **damar** a la casada, dueña o
novia, y éste de un verbo hebr. **dam**, o
damam, que significa callar, por la
qual las damas deben ser calladas. Y aun el
vocablo **dama** parece ser hebr., que como el
hombre llamo **adam**, de alli
parece dicha la muger **adama**. (Rosal, 1585)
- Palet* 1604 **Dame**, gentifemme; daim animal
- Aldrete* 1606 **Dama**, Gr., **elegans foemina** (Aldrete, 1606)
- Oudin* 1607: **Dama** es casi señora, **dame** de qualité. **Dama**
de palacio, **dame** et fille de la Royne. **Dama**,
se prend en mauvaise part entre gens de
mediocre condition, et est autant que
courtisanne et femme de ioye. **Dama** animal,
un daim. v. Gama. (Oudin, 1607)
- Covarrubias* 1611: (Vea descripción anterior en este capítulo)

- Francios* 1620: **dama**, signora di titolo, donna bella, o almanco che è tenuta o si tiene. (Franciosini, 1620)
- Ledesma* 1626: es voz griega (*Ledesma*, 1626)
- Correas* 1627: Tales **damas** lo hilaron la mañana de San Juan; o tales manos lo hilaron, dícese alabando algo con donaire y al autor. (*Correas*, 1627)
- Henriquez* 1679: **Damas**, dominae ornatae, comptae, in speciem pulchrae. De la Reina, reginae nobiles sociae, pedisequae; heroides; heroinae. **Damas** en el axedrez, reginae. Es una **dama** de compuesto, est verecundus, modestus, virginali verecundia. No andéis como **dama**, en gressibus incedas mollioribus. v. **juego de damas**. (*Henriques*, 1679)

THE FIRST FOOTPRINTS OF THE GAME OF CHECKERS

Several draughts historians believe to see the first signs of the game of checkers in the following references:

1. 1050 FARISIA

Kruijswijk (1966:68) made an extensive study of this word when he became aware of Murray's data (1913:497; 1952:74-75). Van der Linde (1881, appendix), Dozy (1849), and Josef van Hammer-Purgstall (1855, tome 6:663,760 and tome 7:874) have studied the game. Van der Stoep (1979, N° 53-54) and Bakker (1980-83, N° 54-55) do not see this reference as an indication of a relationship to checkers.

2. 1243 PHILIPPE MOUSKET

Murray (1952:74) and Kruijswijk (1966:64) consider this reference (Mousket, 1845) as a precursor of checkers. Van der Stoep (1979, N° 53-54) and Bakker (1980-83, N° 54-55) oppose this view.

3. 1369 GEOFFREY CHAUCER

He uses the word of fer(s) Murray (1952:72-82) and Kruijswijk (1966:62-63) consider Chaucer's reference (1369; 1957) as a precursor of checkers. Van der Stoep (1979, N° 53-54) and Bakker (1980-83, N° 54-55) do not follow this thinking. Branch (1912, 14 jan.) writes about chess.

4. 1380 SIR FERUMBRAS

According to Murray (1952:75) this is the oldest reference to checkers. **Sir Ferumbras** (1879, verse 2224/5) dates around 1380 and is an English translation from French. **Chanson de geste Fierabra** (c. 1170), the text is found again in a French edition (Sir Ferumbras, 1860). Kruijswijk (1966:59) has written about it extensively. Branch (1911: November 12) and Van der Stoep (1978, N° 43) also quote this reference. Bakker (1980-83, N° 54-55) distances himself from the possibility of draughts.

5. 1400 DESTRUCTION OF TROYA

The words **The draghtes, the dyse, and other dreggh games** (Benoit 1873, verse 1619-1623) are quoted here in a poem. From these words Murray (1952:75) and Kruijswijk (1966:62) see draughts. Bakker (1980-83, N° 54-55) does not see this possibility.

6. 1507 ELOI D'AMERVAL

Kruijswijk (1966:73) quotes in his book a poem in which we find a verse with **Comme au jeu d'echecz ou des dames**, which is native of Eloy d'Amerval (1508). It is included in Ward (1923, book II, chapter 13) and in Ott (1948:48). Murray (1952:76), Kruijswijk (1966:73), and Van der Stoep (1984:53) see checkers in this reference, but Bakker still has many doubts (1980-83, N° 54-55).

Dr. Arie van der Stoep obtained merits by dedicating many interesting chapters to the story in the checker's magazine *Dammagazine*. For the checkers bibliographers we give the principal information that had to

do with draughts according to about 10 writers whom we mention below (Stoep 1979, N° 53-54:2492-2494).

1. 1850? HAVARD.

According to Henry Havard (1850?) checkers has been taken from the Arabs and become very popular in France under the name of **jeu de table** in the 13th century. He refers to a manuscript from the 14th century, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Anonymous, 1400), which would be about the rules of checkers. The manuscript has been studied by the bibliographer and draughtsplayer Jean Simonata and it discusses chess, morris, and backgammon. Nothing was found related to checkers (Stoep 1980, N° 62:2804).

2. 1934 VON WARTBURG

Walter von Wartburg (1934) observes in his dictionary under the word dominate: **Vorher heisst dieses Brett tablier, so noch Est 1552. Est** refers to the Dictionarium latinogallicum (Stephanus, 1552) that Van der Stoep (1980, N° 62:2803) found again in Rotterdam. Von Wartburg had the idea that *tablier* meant draughts gameboard because of the two following references:

Abacus (...) Ung comptoir, ou table a compter / iecter. Macrob. Un tablier a iouer aux dames. According to Van der Stoep (1980, N° 62:2803) there's a quote from Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, probably from his **Saturnalia**.

Alveus Lusorius. Plin. (Plinius) Un tablier. Alveolus. Cic. (Cicero). Un tablier a iouer aux dames.

With the word **damier** Von Wartburg writes: **Dieses spiel ist sehr alt, hat aber früher wohl andere namen gehabt.** (This game is very old and had other names in the past).

3. 1863 LITTRÉ

Emile Littré (1863), writer of the *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Dictionary of the French language) (1863-1872) in four volumes that was re-edited between 1956 and 1961, observed under Table 5°:

Term de trictrac. Chacune des quatre divisions du tablier, appelées aussi jans. Il se disait autrefois de ce qu'on nomme plus ordinairement aujourd'hui dames: jan de deux tables, anciennement, tous les jeux où l'on emploie des dames et un échiquier ou un tablier.

4. 1887 GAY

Victor Gay (1887) mentions this in his dictionary under Damier:

Le jeu de damier est plus connu, au moyen âge, sous le nom de tablier. C'est à ce mot que nous renvoyons pour les développements qu'il comporte. Other descriptions give contradicting points of view in a way that this dictionary is not consistent and must be rejected as a reference.

5. 1880 GODEFROY

Frédéric Godefroy defines the word **Tablier** in his dictionary (1880) as:

Table du jeu d'échecs et de tout jeu se jouant avec des pièces mobiles sur une surface plane; par extens., le jeu même.

And once more the addition:

Planchette d'une table à jouer, d'un damier, d'un trictrac.

6. 1969 GREIMAS

In his dictionary A.J. Greimas (1969) mentions this under **Table 7°**:

Jeu de trictrac, ou de dames. As the first reference to table *Greimas* gives 1080 op.

7. 1972 GIZYCKI

The first reference is original from the famous book of cavalry **Chanson de Roland**. Verse 110-113 says: (Bédier, 1937):

**Sur palies blanc siedent cil cevaler,
As tables juent pur els esbaneier
E as eschecs li plus saive e li veill,
E escremissent cil bacheler leger**

Around 1825 a laudatory poem was published on checkers by the Pole Adam Mickiewicz, in which there were 12 white and 12 black pawns during the opening of a checkers match. (Gizycki, 1972:77).

8. 1768 LACOMBE

In M. Lacombe's (1768) dictionary, that this Frenchman registers from the 9th to the 15th century, **Tablier** is reflected as:

table de jeu de dames, ou damier.

9. 1890 LUCE

The French historian Siméon Luce (1890:104-105) in a study about the Middle Ages started out with the supposition that *jeu de tables* in the Middle Ages was a collective name for games on a board with squares. In 1369 Charles V the Wise of France prohibited all classes of games, amongst them *tables*. Luce continued the influence that this prohibition cultivated during the government of Charles and his successors Charles VI and Charles VII; the last governed until 1461. We see this about jeu de tables:

On donnait alors ce nom à tous les jeux où l'on employait des dames et un échiquier ou tablier. La table, sur laquelle on jouait, divisée en carrés alternativement blancs et noirs, s'appelait d'ordinaire *tablier* lorsqu'elle servait au jeu de dames, et *échiquier* lorsqu'elle était destinée à un jeu d'échecs.

10. 1750 MÉNAGE

In M. Ménage's dictionary (1750) the author writes this under the word **Tables**:

Au belles tables, c'est-à-dire aux Dames. Les Latins se son servis de tabula en cette signification.

Another reference to draughts is from Pansier (1924), who indicates in his dictionary:

tablier = 1485 un tablier de damas

Van der Stoep prudently does not believe that this is checkers and considers that more information is needed (Stoep 1981, N° 67:2930).

THE MOVE OF THE DAMA

Chess literature shows us that over time the queen is the piece that has experienced the highest number of variations. In the initial phase it could only move diagonally and was called **Allferza**. As the queen's skills were increasing in the medieval court, her power was recognized and therefore by that time the piece changed from **allferza** to **dama**. The innovation of the dama, acquiring immeasurable power, was a very important event. Suddenly this piece was the worthiest in chess due to its power. Suddenly due to one action chess literature spanning many centuries had no value at all. It seems that chess acquired a war character and the **dama** turned into a war general up in arms who should be present everywhere. Now the game was called:

Spain: **Axedrez de la dama**

France: **Eschés de la dame, o de dame enragée**

The chess game with the mad dama

Italy: **Scacchi de la donna or alla rabiosa**

The game with the dama or the mad dama

Germany: **Current of Welsch-Schachspiel**

Quick chess or foreign chess

Engeland: **Mad chess.**

In the Czech translation of Hadrianus Junius 1586 a phrase was used translated as:

The mad game with 12 pieces (Jansen 1995, N° 44:49-50).

The expression chess with a mad dama **was** depreciating and this was one of the reasons why I do not believe in the origin of the new **dama** from these countries. Seeing Lucena's book of chess from 1497 and the manuscripts of Vinyoles (1480?) and MS O III (c.1500), described

by Calvo (1985:252-253; 1985b: 28; 1985c: 434-435), I agree with Dr. Calvo that the new chess dama originated in Valencia (Calvo 1991, N° 7:82-89; Calvo 1992, N° 3:34-46; Calvo 1995b: 77-89) between 1470 and 1480, although instead of 1470 I prefer 1474 when Isabel married Fernando. Even the origin of the manuscript of Göttingen and Paris are attributed to Lucena according to Place (1992) and Görschen (1975a, N° 5:74-75, N° 6:91-92, N° 7:105-108; 1975b, N° 6:163-170).

MS O III (1500) was discovered by the priest Julian Zarco Cuevas (1926), who as a collaborator of the Real Biblioteca de El Escorial facilitated a copy to a law student (1927-1930) Juan Lacasa Lacasa who informed Ricardo Calvo about it in 1985. Also from this period we know about a manuscript that is preserved in Regia Biblioteca Casanatense de Roma, copied by Joannes Chachi in 1511 that has 12 games of modern chess. (Pérez de Ariaga 1997, IV N° I:9).

Suddenly the **dama** was a more powerful piece than before. Instead of a short step diagonally the new chess **dama** took long steps along the whole diagonals, rows, and columns. Suddenly the **dama** was found in any location of the chessboard in the same way as Queen Isabel the Catholic used to do to defend her kingdom during the first 20 years after her uprising to the throne and many years later during the conquest of Granada. The period of time between 1474 and 1492 seems to me a dormant period, in which the new chess queen (chess dama) was developed based on the powerful Spanish queen (movement of the queen). The definitive implementation was made in 1492; the year known in the books as the most important year in the history of Spain. The victory over the Moors brought on a new queen with more power. Spain now gave its crowned piece the definitive name of **dama**. This way the word **dama**, which is of French origin and was almost no longer used in France, was revived in Spain.

It is still a fact that in the 15th century women in Spain had almost no rights and were maintained on a very low social level. We can appreciate this in Lucena's book of 1497 that was deeply studied by Jacob Ornstein (1954) and Barbara Matulka (1931); the latter considered the book **Repetición de Amores** from Lucena as an

antifeminist handbook. This does not correspond to the powerful Spanish queen Isabel who was loved and respected by her subjects, but at the same time feared by the Moors.

THE DIVERSE CHECKERS GAMES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

In the investigation of the first footprints of checkers we find different forms of the game. For example, checkers in a coffee shop (board with 100 squares) was a normal phenomenon in the 17th and 18th century in Holland (Regin, 1976; Nehemia, 1702; Sancta, 1711) and probably even earlier. It was also played in the Spanish style during the 16th and 17th century on the chessboard. The dictionaries of Corderius (1552), Meurier (1557), Lambrecht (1562), Plantijn (1573), Sasbout (1579), Mellema (1587), and Kiliaan (1588) mention the name of checkers. Before 1552 we cannot find anything about checkers. Probably in that time people still played only marro (alquerque of 12). We can find a reference to this in Dis (1937:153) and another one from 1527 in Cornelis *Everaert* (1920:177).

SPANISH CHECKERS IN HOLLAND

The expression “Spaans dammen” (checkers in the Spanish style) appears during the time when people were starting to play on a checkers board with 100 squares. (Marin, 1710, 1717). We learn the fact that checkers were initially played in the Spanish style (64 squares) in Holland from a 7-page writing (Zeel, 1681) in which this author invents a game of checkers for 4 people on 5 boards (7x7). G.L.Gortmans (1929:188) rediscovered this writing. There is a known song of the beggar (Stoep, 1974:106; Kruijswijk, 1966:104) that talks about a **dambert**, meaning a board of checkers (Een nieuw geusen lieden boecxken, 1581). By **dambert** he refers to Alba’s (Kuiper, 1924:82; Grapperhaus, 1984:157) familiar weapon, but Enklaar (1937:63-64) thinks more of the functions of calculus of the checkers

board. Also in Wijnandt van Westen (1636:147-148) it is presented to play checkers on a chessboard. There is a book of the games of the 18th century which contains a game of checkers on a chessboard (*La plus nouvelle academie...*, 1728). Also Aart Schouman, in the period of 1733 to 1738, talks in his little books of news about **Pools en Spaens slaen** (capturing in the Polish and Spanish style) in connection to the game of checkers (Roever, 1888:39). Hemmes (1911:75-84) wrote about the way to play the Spanish style. The expert in checkers boards W.A. Mourik has not worried about his expenses and efforts in his deep investigation of the various antique checkers boards, amongst them the Spanish checkers boards from centuries ago. (Mourik, 1987:72-75). Thanks to his investigation we know that diverse silver checkers boards were produced with silver on 64 squares and the pieces were also cast in silver (Houart, 1982:54; Citroen 1975, under number 1204) for the Spanish checkers.



The checkers players from Michiel Sweerts in 1652

GERMAN DRAUGHTS

Blanchetta (1942) and Thiele (1987) quote the old German draughts in their literature. So far we know that at the time it was not played on a board with 100 squares in Germany. In an odd way we also know about a self portrait of Jan Kupecky (1666-1740) in which we see a draughts board with 10x10 squares. The Pole Kupecky lived in Italy for 22 years, and most of his life in Germany (Bénézit 1976, tome 6:337). Researchers also knew a game of checkers on the great board with each player having 15 pieces (Archiv 1819, tome I: 6) that Jørgensen (1802:370-371) called Polish draughts. Now we can probably clear up the draughts of 15 pieces that Pratesi (1994:31-32) quotes in his article on Salmasius (1620:460). Was it played first with 15 pieces on the great board of draughts?



Jan Kupecky

FRISIAN DRAUGHTS OR PLAYING THE MOLQUERENT GAME

Another origin of draughts had been searched in a game of checkers that was a mix between the ordinary game and the Turkish game, and that had the name of **Molquerent's draughts**, which meant playing molquerent (Swaanenburg, 1726:411). This game was even described in a Danish book under the term *de Makvaer* (Jørgensen, 1802:371), while Sweden was behind it (Bellman, 1783) and implemented the term *Marguern* there. This way of Molquerent was also called *Molquerums* (Bachiene, 1791:1345-1346) and *Molkwerums dammen* (Aa, 1846:1032-1034); *Malguerns dammen* (Curten, 1798) and *Molkwerumsch dammen* (Blommestejn, 1816). The same game of molquerent draughts was called *jeu de dames à la Babilonienne* (Manoury, 1787; Anonym 1796) in France, and in England it was known as *Babylon's draughts* (Twiss 1805, tome II:172), but they did not know much about this game there. Surprisingly this game was also known in Germany at a certain time (Klöpper, 1898:40). Boyer (1956:27-28) has also worked on Babylon's draughts.

TURKISH DRAUGHTS

Turkish draughts is a game whose origin causes a lot of headache to historians. Games were not allowed by Islam in Turkey (Busbequius, 1610) and the Muslims who did not pay too much attention to their religion could only play with Jews or people from Venice (Forster 1811, tome I: 288). The first reference to draughts in Turkey originated from Jean of Thévenot (1663:65) and Mallet (1668:270). In the same century there was also a report from a trip of Cornelis of Bruijn (1698:136) and years later C.M. Wieland (1781:148) was also included in the literature of this game. The rules of Turkish draughts were first described by Hyde (1694, tome II: 174 -189). J. Alexander (1925:87 and 89) quotes a manuscript (Landberg, 1795) that was taken to the Swedish orientalist Carlo Landberg (MS Landberg no. 806) and is conserved in the old State library of Prussia (Kruijswijk, 1966:168).

Frank Dunne (1890:197-203) dedicates a chapter to Turkish draughts. I have tried to find Turkish draughts again in the 16th century (Westerveld, 1988:29 in 1991:43) through a reference to a work of Pedro of Urdemales (1559:455), in the same way as did the French Lecluse through a Latin poem (Clusii, 1605:200), but these arguments were effectively refuted by the checkers historian Pratesi (1992:70-72). Turkish draughts is still actively practiced on the Greek Island of Kos (Dijk, 1987:70), in Egypt (Murray, 1952:82), Israel (Bell 1979, tome 2:41, 54), Lebanon, (Stoep 1989, N° 8:3-4), and Kenya (Mourik, 1980:18) where it is played with small turrets (Nijenhuis, 1979). By using small turrets in Turkish draughts one immediately asks whether the Spanish game of Castro (=castle) may have something to do with this game. A small variation of Turkish draughts is the Armenian version of draughts that was first described by Balédent (1887:81). Willi Schmidt (1934:393-394) was the first to write about the rules of the game.

ITALIAN DRAUGHTS

We do not know much about Italian draughts. The first reference comes from Berni (1526) noticed by Kruijswijk (1966:90) and others. A precise investigation demonstrated that this work was always wrongly quoted and that the reference does not have anything to do with draughts (Pratesi, 1987:40). Draughts is briefly quoted in the work of Roero (1604:230). We find some details in a Latin poem (Buganza, 1786) that was amply described by Pratesi (1989:45-46). We find a description about the rules of checkers in a manuscript of Aldrovandi (1585) and in a book that was edited in Bologna (Bisteghi, 1753). Another small book from 1786 exists about the rules of draughts and it is printed in the name of Aloysius Maria Ceruti (1786:62-63). The last 3 books were described by Pratesi (1990:42-43).

MALAYAN DRAUGHTS

There was also a type of draughts in Malaysia that Jansen titled Roman draughts (Jansen 1992, N° 23:18) and in this game one encloses and captures an enemy piece by two pieces (Sumusah, 1932). Malaysian draughts was discussed by Curten (1798:1 y 11-26); and Curten wrote in his manuscript (1804:5-6) about this game too. Jansen (1992, N° 23:19) also quotes the version of draughts that was practiced in Thailand (Spelencyclopedia, 1950) and is called **Mak-Yaek** there. Just as Malaysian draughts, in Mak-Yaek each player also uses 16 pieces and an enemy piece is captured by enclosure (surrounding), as it is effectively described by Jansen, by a more complicated way of capturing: with saturation, capturing with no saturation, and capturing by changing colors. See the chapter on Ludus Latrunculorum (Volume I) for the game of **Mak -Yaek**. It would not surprise me in any way (Lucot 1951, N° 18:15) that these two games had something to do with the lost game of *Ludus Latrunculorum*. Just in alquerque-12, in which capturing is not done by surrounding but by jumping, we could possibly consider that these two games were the precursors of current draughts.

ENGLISH DRAUGHTS

The English terms for draughts are **checker(s)** and **draughts** according to historians. At the checker was a name that was also formerly used for the game of **quek** which is found in *Jacob's Well* (Anonim, 1900). Checkers is the name for draughts in the United States. It still is a question if the term checker(s) was used for draughts before the 16th century. With all probability checker meant the (checkered) chessboard of those times. The current term for draughts on 64 squares in Great Britain is draughts and this term is also found in the Middle Age. Nevertheless, it is still a question whether the term draughts referred to draughts at the time. It is much more likely that by the term draughts people meant alquerque of 12. French influences are clearly seen in the book by the Frenchman Pierre Erondelle (Erondell, 1605) and from the book of François Rabelais (Urquhart, 1653).

Did William Perkins (1966), who lived from 1558 until 1602, really refer to draughts in the 16th century? In Minsheu (1617a) we clearly see Spanish influences in their texts about draughts (Covarrubias, 1611). The first reference to draughts in a dictionary is not found before the end of the 16th century. (Florio, 1598).

THE FIRST FRENCH DRAUGHTS

Mallet (1668:321) distinguishes three ways of playing draughts on a board of 64 squares. The literature is vague about this type of draughts by Leurechon (1630, tome 1:131), Marinière (1654:71, 172, 216), Sarasin (1656:268), Rousseau (1694), Placette (1714:98), and Ferrand (1702:189-198).



Gerard ter Borch (1660)

It is typical to see that in the 20th century the Spanish referred to French draughts on the small board and to the Polish game (Marcos, 1902:530) on the large board. This is also the way that wonderful tales are never lost for the profane. In the art we find the board of 64 squares for draughts by the painter Gerard ter Borch (161.-1681), who visited many countries such as England, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Germany, and France, and everything figured in the profile of his formation as a painter. (Gudlaugsson, 1959, 1960; Tentoonstellingskatalogus 1974; Tentoonstellings- katalogus 1976; Vliegenthart, 1981; Tentoon- stellingskatalogus, 1989).

SPANISH DRAUGHTS IN SPAIN

Some works of literature still provide indirect information about Spanish draughts. There is a poem by Johannes Six van Chandelier that mentions a sea trip from Alicante to Genua (Chandelier, 1650). Jovellanos (1790) let us know that in the 13th century checkers was called **tablas** in Spain and chess was called **escaques**. With reference to Dutch-Spanish dictionaries one can consult Rodriguez (1634) and Mellema (1639). Huarte (1575:547) deals with the dama in chess and not the dama in draughts. Draughts is also quoted in a manuscript from c. 1778 of Cadalso (1984: 229-230). A ballad of incest existed in the literature with the so called chorus of the words draughts (=ladies' game). This figures in "The corpus of the romance of Delgadina" (450 verses of this ballad). The ballad was also sung in Spain, its old colonies, and Portugal. In volume III (Gutiérrez, 1981) there are about 30 cases in the 16th century where the words "draughts" are found in the chorus. In one of these ballads the chorus in question is quoted at least 5 times (Gutiérrez, 1981:380).

Concerning the versions of draughts that have to do with the games that look like alquerque we refer to the chapter on alquerque, where these games are extensively explained.



Pieces of the game around 1535 in Germany. N° 1: Wife of Charles V; N° 5: Philip the handsome; N° 6: Charles V; N° 12: Soliman, the Turkish Emperor.

CONCLUSION

THE NOMINATION OF DOMINA AND DAMA

At present there is great confusion among historians about the meaning of the word **dama**. In Spanish **dama** means powerful and superior piece. It refers to a majestic and almighty woman. We have seen that the word *dama* originated in France and was used for the first time in Spain in the 13th century. Since c. 1440 this word was used abundantly by the Spanish poets in frustrated love mixups around a powerful married woman.

The queen was called **domina** in Latin in chess, which we see in the Latin manuscripts of Jacobus of Cessolis in the 15th century. The Spanish Isabel the Catholic was also called **domina** in the Latin texts of 1490. Around 1475 poets of Valencia gave the name *dama* to this almighty woman in chess. In those years **domina** meant majestic and powerful woman or queen in chess. Everything was a slow process that lasted centuries (name of the queen). The sudden implementation of the use of the word **dama** and the new force (movement) of the piece in Spain was by my judgement the result of leadership with no comparison and the success of the Catholic queen Isabel. Nevertheless, the chess historian Jacob Silberman (1975:43) sees another option and thinks that the nomination of the **dame** originated from *Jeanne d'Arcs*. Dr. Petzold (1987:162-163) also considers a possible relationship between **dame** and the Spanish Queen Isabel. It is still a fact that the nomination of **dame** was applied in the 13th century in France as a chess term for the queen (Champollion, 1842:118; Murray, 1913:752).

THE NAME OF DRAUGHTS IN SPAIN

I think that the name of Spanish draughts (**juego de las damas**) or briefly **damas** originated in France around 1530, but more investigation is necessary. Because of the title **draughts**, In Spain a game with damas is meant. Additional consideration about the origin of this term is reflected in the chapter **discussion**.

THE NAME OF THE DAME PIECE IN SPAIN

The name of the (Spanish) **dama** piece is already mentioned in Timoneda's book that I think was printed in 1547 in Valencia. Therefore I see the term **dama** in the sense of a powerful piece, just as it is described by Murray. Everything indicates that in Spanish draughts the Spanish dama was an echo of the chess dama.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LONG (POWERFUL) DAMA IN DRAUGHTS AND CHESS

The Spanish term for the **dama** figure and piece has been **peón (pawn)** in all the Spanish books at all times.

In Spain the word **dama (king)** does not mean a game piece, but crowned pawn. Draughts, like chess, had similar pawns and a long dama with the same powerful function as in chess.

The first chess book printed in the world was by the Valencian Francesh Vicent (1495) and referenced by Francisco Méndez (1796, tome I: 83) and José Enrique Serrano and Morales (1898:501). This book was printed with the first Spanish - Valencian - press from 1474 by the German printer Lope of Roca Alemany and the Catalan Pere Trincer of a German origin. To know more about German printers in Spain you can study Konrad Haebler (1894:529-564; 1903; 1923; 1924).

Some researchers suspected that this book was lost in a fire in 1834 in the Montserrat Monastery (Brunet, 1890:220), but fortunately it was seen by the Jesuit Raymundus Diosdado Caballero (1793:83) and the

German bibliographer Georg W. Panzer (1795). Footprints of this book can be found according to Dr. Chicco (1979:45-49) in Cardanus (1557). However, we do not know whether the new powerful **dama** was discussed in this book. In all probability the chess book of Lucena was printed between 1496 and 1497 by Leonard Hutz and Lope Sanz in Salamanca (History of the Hispanic Press, 1982). The preparation of this book, meaning the game with the new powerful dama could have taken 2 or 3 years. Consequently I see that the definitive implantation of the **new powerful dama** around 1493, but the term of this powerful dama piece was already indicated by Valencian poets around 1475.



The Monserrat Monastery in Barcelona

The chess figures are, just as in Cesolis, based on real life and were influenced by the Catholic Church. My hypothesis is that queen Isabel was represented in chess as the general that should be present, also riding a horse, in all parts of her territory. Her power was expressed on the chessboard and later on the draughts board in general. Nebrija was

one of the most important Spanish humanists. We find practically nothing in the description of his dictionary from 1492, but in the dictionary of 1495 everything changed. Suddenly, as Lucena worked closely with Nebrija, the word **dame** was mentioned as new in the dictionary, just as the word **andarraya**.

The game of **andarraya** was already known in Spain around 1450, but according to Nebrija's dictionary from 1495 everything indicates that this game had been transformed into a new game. This is all cohesive if we think of the crowning of pawn by means of the new powerful dama on the old board of **andarraya** and using the chessboard now in 1495. Covarrubias (1611/1987:375) informs us about draughts in a very clear way:

El juego de las damas con el tablero de axedrez, todos le saben; llamáronle assi por ser facil, o por el modo del jugar de las pieças, con la libertad de la dama.

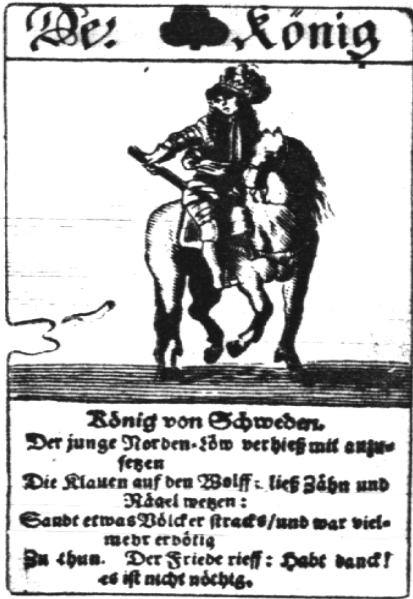
Translation:

Draughts on the chessboard, everyone knows it; calling it like that for being an easy game, or because of its way of playing with the pieces, with the freedom of the dama.

Years ago I came to the conclusion that Bakker (1983:44; 1987:42-46) chose the right path. Some of his arguments perfectly support his hypothesis that draughts originated in chess.

I consider Spain as the country where the new chess had its cradle around 1475 and I also consider Spain as the country where draughts was born around 1493; the new powerful dama was introduced in both games. The new chess, know as modern chess, originated in Valencia, a city where we see appear the first chess book written by Francesch Vicent in 1495. Draughts (new game) also originated in Valencia, because precisely in this city we see appear so many books about

draughts, of which the authors show to have a very high skill in the game (Westerveld, 1987:29).



German game of cards in memory of the period's Turkish war
 1664 - 1683. Observe the use of the word Dame instead of Dame.

The point is not to lose direction
on the road full of no believers.
Govert Westerveld

12. ANTONIO DE TORQUEMADA

DATA ABOUT ANTONIO DE TORQUEMADA (1507 - 1569)

George Walker (1838/1987:256) was an authority in the field of chess books and the first person in the 19th century to write about Antonio de Torquemada. His interest in draughts was of an accidental nature. His list of 19 draughts books was nothing but an addition to one realized catalog of over 500 works in chess and other diverse board games es (Hanes, 1922:68). Walker mentions the catalogs of *Hoeck*, *Cochrane*, and *Henry Ionathan Clodius* (1761). Perhaps he was also familiar with the belowmentioned Nicolao Antonio (1672).



George Walker



Edward B. Hanes

Bernart Nicolao Antonio (1617-1687) was a high ecclesiastical officer, Spanish diplomat, and large book collector in the 17th century. He wrote about Antonio de Torquemada in his work *Bibliotheca SIVE*

Hispana HISPANORUM USQUAM UNQUAMVE.... This work was collected in 1640-1650 and published in 1672 in Rome (Nicolao, 1672), Officina Nicolai Angeli Tinassi. We find (Sena 1972:1101): on page 128, second column, lines 20, 21, and 39 to 45:



Nicolao Antonio

ANTONIUS DE TORQUEMADA, scripsit:

El Ingenio, ò juego de Marro, de punta, ò Damas. Valentiae 1547. 4. *Gabrieli Chapuis* Turonensi attribuit *Antonius Verdier* in **Bibliotheca** versionem Gallicam operis inscripti **Hexameron sex dierum**, Lugduni editum ab *António M(H)arsy* 1582, quod idem judico cum **Horto Florum** jam laudato.

In volume II, index of materials, chapter 22, pp. 649-650 we find the earlier mentioned work of Nicolao Antonio in the table of contents bearing the title **Antonius de Torquemada, El Ingenio o juego de mano.**

The word “mano” is probably a misprint for the required word “marro”.

The same Latin text also occurs in the work **Bibliotheca Hispana** volume II, second column of page 164 and in the first column of page 165, published in 1783 in Madrid. This text is increased with (Nicolao, 1783):

Domesticus suit excellentissimorum comitum de Benavente.

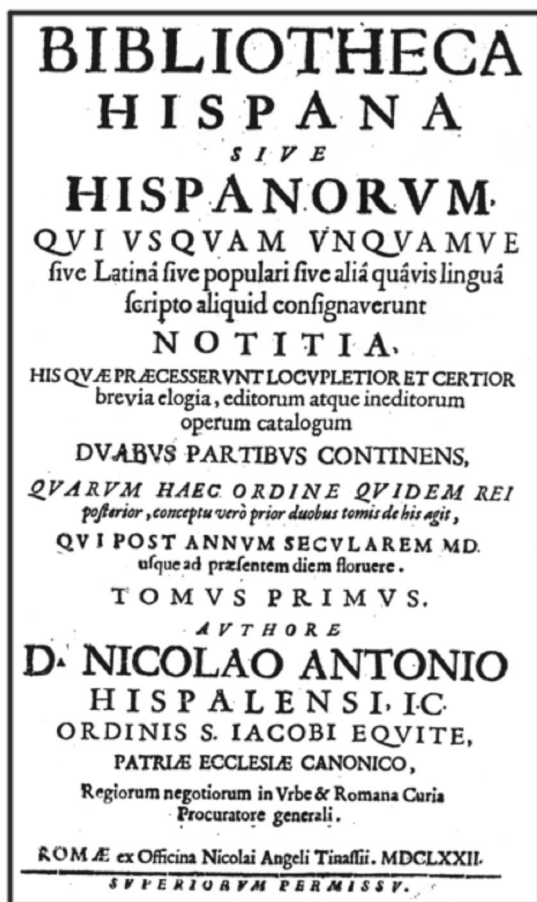
According to the edition of *Giovanni Allegra* (Torquemada 1570/1982:82) the book Hexameron was a translation:

Hexameron, ou six journees contenans plusieurs doctes discours sus aucuns points difficiles en diverses sciences, avec maintes histoires, notables & non encores ouyes. (...) Fait en Hespagnol par Antoine de Torquemada, & mis en François par Gabriel Chappuys Tourangeau, a Lyon, Jean Beraud, 1579.
-. A Lyon par Antoine de Harsy, M.D.LXXXII (1582)

Alexander (1923:129) has his doubts about Torquemada:

The name of *Torquemada* is almost certainly an error due to some confusion – of which the arising I have not been able to ascertain - in the bibliographical entries. The extract from N. Antonio is derived from **Les Bibliothèques Françaises de la Croix du Maine et de du Verdier**, Paris and Lyon, 1772, I, p. 247 which runs: *Gabriel Chapius* ... a traduit L’Hexameron, traduit d’espagnol imprimee a Lyon par *Antonie de Harsy* l’an 1582 et ailleurs. L’auteur d’icelle s’appelle *Antonie Torquemada* espagnol.

I have seen a table of contents of the Hexameron, but it has nothing about Draughts; nor has the Spanish original *Jardin de Flores*, as I am informed; in fact, it dates thirty years later than the 1547 book. Some day I may discover how the misapprehension arose to combine the two books, but it is clear that *Walker* found the author for what was apparently an anonymous book.



Biblioteca Hispana Nova, Roma 1672

Alexander pulled everything together and did not see the difference. All his confusion about *El Ingenio* was created by a remark about the French translation of *Jardin de Flores* and was recorded directly behind and under the title of the draughts book. The articles in American / British draughts magazines about draughts books often proved to be of dubious quality.

In correspondence between the historian Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes (University of Murcia) and the “Generalitat Valenciana” in 1989 the latter referenced the following information in a letter:

The work *El Ingenio, o juego de marro, de punta, o damas* does not appear in the provisional edition of the collective catalogue that the Ministry of Culture published in 1984. The book appears in “Palau” and it is coming from Antonio de Torquemada (which results more reliable and appropriated with the remainder books by this author and his subject) and it says that only one existing copy was known in the Municipal Library of Valencia. In 1960 a catalog was published of existing works in the Municipal Library and the work of Torquemada was no longer cited. Since then more than 300 works were lost and certainly in this moment they have me confirmed that they do not have this book of Torquemada. Consequently it will not be listed in the Collective Catalogue that the Community is preparing.



Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes

In all likelihood this book was formerly in the Municipal Library of Valencia (Palau y Dulcet 1971, Volume 23:319), others claimed that it was in the University of Valencia. Torquemada wrote several other works, showing that this writer was very versatile in different fields (Torquemada 1570; Torquemada 1553; Torquemada 1564; Torquemada 1574). In his book *Colloquios satíricos* Torquemada discusses (1553) the gamble in the 16th century. Many games are

mentioned, but the draughts, andarraya, and alquerque games are omitted. The only game that comes in the direction of these games is the following one (Torquemada, 1553):

ANTONIO.- *No digo yo tal cosa, que otros juegos hay licitos, assi como birlos, pelota y axedrez y los semejantes á éstos, (...)*

Translation:

I am not saying such a thing, that other games are legal, like ball game, ball and chess and such as these, (...)

Torquemada probably wanted to say that there were games similar to the chess game. One of them can be marro - a game that was played with pawns on the chessboard.

An interesting study about the “Colloquios” of Torquemada and gamble in the 16th century is one written by Lina Rodríguez (1986).

In the book *Manual de Escribantes* Torquemada (1574) discusses the chess game, but the draughts game is not mentioned. Anyway we get a good idea of the language used in those years.

p. 222/3

(.....) *que un jugador que juega muy bien un juego y con lançes primos y avisados da señal para que hará lo mesmo en otros juegos, aunque se ofrezcan lançes diferentes...*

Translation:

(....) that a player who plays a game very well with strong and warning moves already gives evidence that he will do the same in other games, although his opponent is doing other moves.

p. 122

ANTONIO: *Cosa muy dificultosa y travajosa es la que me pedis, y en que verdaderamente yo tengo temor de hazer principio, porque no sé si me perderé antes de llegar al medio o alfin, que, como es juego de muchas tretas, podrá ser que las más dellas se me pasaran poralto, y las que jugare serán de tan poco primor que qualquiera se atreva no solamente a darme xaque, sino, a muy pocos lançes, mate;*

Translation:

It is a laborious and difficult task that you ask of me and I am really afraid to start it, because I do not know if I will lose before the middle game or in the endgame. It is a game with many traps and it will be possible that I will not see several of them and that the moves that I play will be of little effect. In this way anyone dares to give me checkmate within some moves.

Torquemada's work is never seen by anyone, as evidenced by the book of Alliey (1850:26), and that of Dr. D. Agustín (1951, Tomo I: 310-311). The latter writes on page 310:

El primero de que tenemos noticia fué uno intitulado El Ingenio, o juego de marro, de punta odamas, impreso en Valencia, en 1547, en un volumen de 4°. Débese el conocimiento de él a nuestro gran bibliógrafo Nicolás Antonio, quién lo cita entre las obras de Torquemada; pero nadie ha logrado verlo nunca, por destrucción, sin duda, de todos sus ejemplares, cosa ordinaria en aquellos destinados a tener uso muy frecuente. Algunos bibliógrafos modernos presumen que existía en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Valencia, a comienzos del pasadosiglo, pero que hubo de perecer en el incendio sufrido por aquella en la guerra de laIndependencia, desapareciendo con otros muchos de gran valor. Si tal ocurrió, fué verdadera lastima, porque la obra de Torquemada tenia el mérito singular de ser la primera impresa en España, y acoso en el mundo, sobre el juego de las damas, con muchos años de precedencia a la de Pedro Ruiz Montero, llamado El Andaluz (Agustín, 1951:310)

Translation:

The first one we know of was entitled *El Ingenio, o juego de marro, de punta ó damas*, printed in Valencia in 1547 in a volume of 4°. We know it thanks to our great bibliographer NicolaoAntonio who is citing it among the works of Torquemada; but no one has ever seen it due to the destruction, no doubt, of all copies, something ordinary in those destined to have very frequent use. Some modern bibliographers assume that it existed in the library of the University of Valencia early in the last century, but it had to perish in the fire suffered by the Independence War, disappearing with other books of great value. If that happened, it was a true pity, because the work of Torquemada had the singular merit of being the first printed draughts book in Spain and perhaps in the world, with many years of precedence to Pedro Ruiz Montero, called "El Andaluz".

If the relevant draughts book of Antonio de Torquemada had been written in Valencia, then there should also be found a printer for it in 1547. After a detailed examination of the book written by José Enrique Serrano y Morales (Westerveld, 1994a:77-79) it shows that only two printers are qualified for that, namely Juan de Mey and Juan de Timoneda (Serrano y Morales, 1893:541-56; 1893: 592). We know from Juan de Mey that he was of Flemish origin and that most of his works were printed in Latin. As far as Juan de Timoneda is concerned, most historians have doubts whether he had really been a printer. Yet we must take into account the fact that the famous writer Cervantes (Serrano y Morales, 1893:541) held him for a printer and Onofre Esquerdo (1699) also speaks in his manuscript about the printer Juan de Timoneda.

It remains so searching for Torquemada. Perhaps we will know something more about this author when we have found the manuscript or book of the draughts author Valle. Rodrigo Caro *Rodrigo Caro* (1624/1978, Tomo I: 204) mentions this name in his manuscript and also a manuscript of Alonso Guerra from 1595, copied in 1658 by Diego de Argomeda, refers to a draughts author Valle (Alonso, 1595/1658). The owner of the last manuscript Victor Martin Cantalapiedra from Valladolid, with whom I maintain a very friendly relationship, does not like to give more information.

Regarding the draughts book of Torquemada now we know the following:

1. This book was printed in Valencia in 1547.
2. 1547 was the first year of Juan de Timoneda as a bookseller and / or printer.
3. There are no positions known from the book of Torquemada under his name.
4. No writer of a Spanish draughts book in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries mentions the name of Torquemada, nor the name of Juan de Timoneda.
5. Torquemada's book probably disappeared in the 19th century.



Dr. Manuel Cárcelos Sabater

6. Dr. Cárcelos Sabater (1905) found a copy of Juan de Timoneda in the 20th century.

7. Positions from the unknown work of Timoneda are included in diverse draughts books of the 16th and 17th centuries, but without mentioning the name Timoneda.

CONCLUSION

Initially I had my doubts about whether the word *dama* could really occur in the title text of the first draughts book of Antonio de Torquemada (1547). This word was still not in the title text of Timoneda (1635), the texts of which are from around 1550. So why did Torquemada already have the word *dama* in the text? I believed much more in the fact that the bibliographer Nicolao Antonio had added the word *dama* to the title (Westerveld 1993a:14), because when

he wrote his work, the game name of MARRO DE PUNTA was no longer in use, but only the word *dama*.

esta nobedad no para los sabios sino para los que poco saben
mostiando en ella la torpeza, de mi juicio. suplico a
v. s. la Real y noble corte de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. que se
dequiere como me queda a v. s. tanto como me queda a v. s.
lo que me queda a v. s. y a v. s. como los a v. s. y a v. s.
hoyos: guardas y a v. s. la obediencia que como el ma
y a v. s. de v. s. de v. s. y a v. s. para que v. s. pueda con ma
yor facilidad ser conocido, y a v. s. yo tenia materia en
que poder alargar me tanto como lo han hecho todos quantos
han escrito de v. s. las personas a quien dize en sus obras
quiero dize de v. s. lo porque quier poder de v. s. tanto
quien quier dize tanto que fueren mayor materia en v. s.
la que se me podria dar en v. s. a v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
o de v. s. pues en v. s. a v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
te por v. s. mandado y encomienda de v. s. y que la suplicas
ha de ser mayor por v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
dize por v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
por v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
suplica mi voluntad y fuese por v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
señor a v. s. a v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
no son: guardas con v. s. de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.
y v. s. como los cielos de v. s. de v. s. de v. s.

Mea y mas humilde criado de v. s.
que sus señores marcos de v. s.

Antonio de v. s.
Escribiente

Page from the book of Antonio de Torquemada: “ Tratado llamado Manual de Escribientes”.

By the inventory of Juan de Junta, as described in the chapter DAMA namely in 1556, we know that there were 11 copies of a book present in Burgos stating: “Juego de Damas” which argues for the existence of

the word Damas in the title of Torquemada. But if that were true, then it is also obvious to determine the texts in the book of Timoneda at an earlier date. Indeed, in his title the word Damas does not appear.

The fact that nobody has ever seen the book of Torquemada raises huge doubts about its existence. On the other hand, we cannot find the position shown in the chapter MARRO that appears in the book of Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591:24), which argues for possible existence of this book.

I have already made some steps in this direction (Westerveld 1993b:131-132; Westerveld 1994:77-79; Westerveld 1995:6-7). Since there is a link between the draughts book of Juan de Timoneda, who started in 1547 as a bookseller (Westerveld 1995:6-7) and the alleged draughts book of Antonio de Torquemada in 1547, I presume that the book of Juan de Timoneda contains the very first texts of the first printed draughts book. Whether that first draughts book was by Torquemada or it has to be attributed to an earlier author is still the question.



Antonio de Torquemada: “Los Colloquios Satíricos”.

No one can lose himself on a straight path.
Goethe

13. TIMONEDA

JUAN DE TIMONEDA (1520 – 1583?)

Juan de Timoneda was an active poet, writer, publisher, and bookseller in the 16th century and has, I think, a lot to do with the draughts book (Timoneda, 1635) written in 1635.



Juan de Timoneda

The exact year of his birth is unknown, but Eduardo Juliá (1948, I. p. vii) relied on his first publications and believed that he was born between 1518 and 1520. The first profession Timoneda exercised was that of tanner, because that profession is stated in his marriage certificate of 26 January 1541 when he married Isabel Juan Ferrandis, daughter of a goldsmith, in the parish of Santa Catalina (Martí, 1927).

Soon he would leave the profession and establish himself as a bookseller (Serrano, 1898) in 1547. According to a document published by A. Rodríguez-Monino (1962:79) we can be sure about

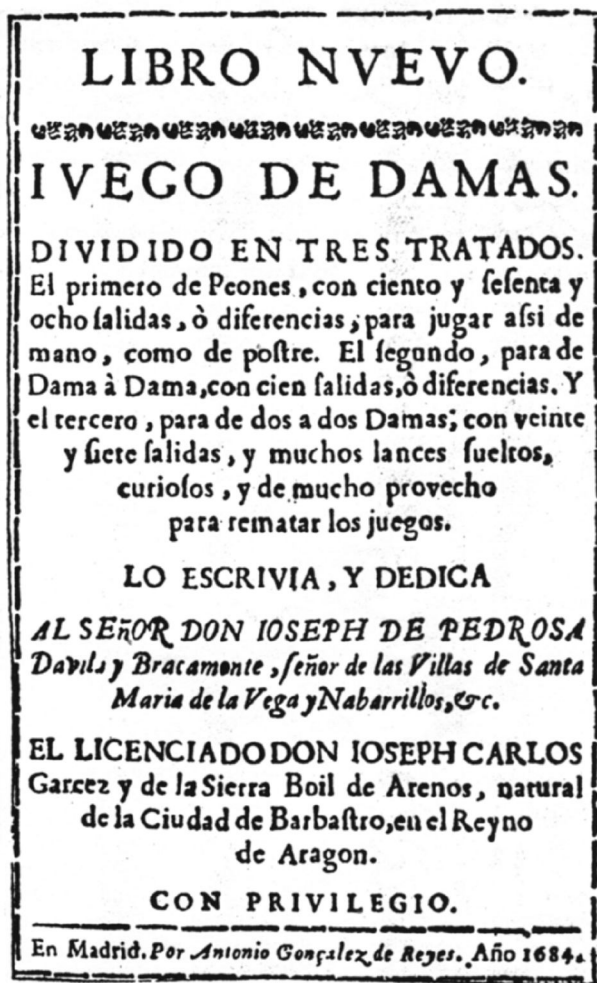
the fact that before 1553 Timoneda did not work as a publisher. Various historians see him as a plagiarist of many works that Timoneda as a good businessman managed to edit (Asensio, 1965:41). So it is quite possible that he never wrote a draughts book himself, but managed to copy and edit it.

Hypothesis that the book of Timoneda of 1635 was written around 1550

Due to the fact that I found in the draughts book of Timoneda of 1635 many old Spanish words from the 16th century I took into account that the texts in this book could be much older. Furthermore, the name Timoneda ought to be found somewhere as a writer, printer, or publisher. Pedro Montero Ruiz says in his book (Ruiz, 1591:24) that there was an older book than his printed one in Valencia. It was therefore important to me to concentrate completely on the name of Timoneda in the 16th century. On this I have done careful research and something about that I already published in various draughts magazines (Westerveld, 1989:46-47; 1990:40; 1991:67).

1. The author of the dama book of 1635 did not criticize earlier writers of dama books, whereas that was very usual with the other Spanish draughts books. So we see that *Pedro Ruiz Montero* (1591) on page 24 of his book writes that there was another author of a draughts book printed in Valencia. *Alonso Guerra* (1595) refers to a draughts author named *Valle*; *Lorenzo Valls* (1597) speaks of *Pedro Ruiz Montero*. *Juan García Canalejas* (1650) refers to *Lorenzo Valls* and *Joseph Carlos Garcez* (1684) writes about *Juan García Canalejas*.

2. The book of 1635 has only problems and endgames. At that time there is no other known Spanish book that only deals with problems and endgames; the other authors always have opening-play. Probably the draughts game was at first a home game, probably changing after experiments in a party game.



Libro de Joseph Carlos Garcez, Madrid 1684

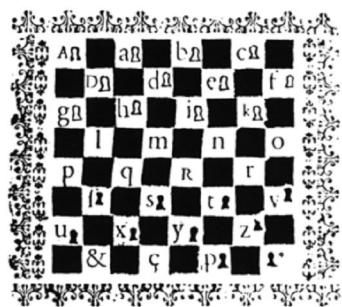
3. The book of 1635 has beautiful diagrams and is written in the same style as the oldest and still existing printed Spanish chess book of Lucena (1496?); thus diagrams with a description of the moves to be played. The book consists of only problems and endgames, no parties. It is a type of study book for a new game and the book is not

discussing other authors. What Lucena was for the new chess Dama in the chess game was Timoneda for the new draughts game. Therefore it is reasonable to presume that the very first draughts book also had draughts diagrams.



Chess diagram of Lucena

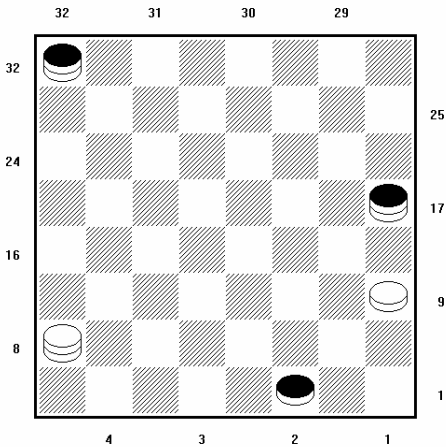
4.- The book of 1635 has diagrams with a notation of letters instead of numbers, as is the case in the other books of the 16th and 17th centuries. We may suppose that letters were used in the first part of the 16th century. Afterwards it became the custom to use numbers.



Draughts diagram of Timoneda

5. In all the books from 1558 onwards we see an introduction directed to the ecclesiastic authorities requesting approval for printing (Kamen, 1983:199). It is a coincidence that this was not needed for the book of 1635. If the book of 1635 was simply a reprint of an earlier work, such an authorization was not necessary. It is also possible, as Kruijswijk

(Timoneda, 1989:107), rightly observes that a royal printer does not require approval.

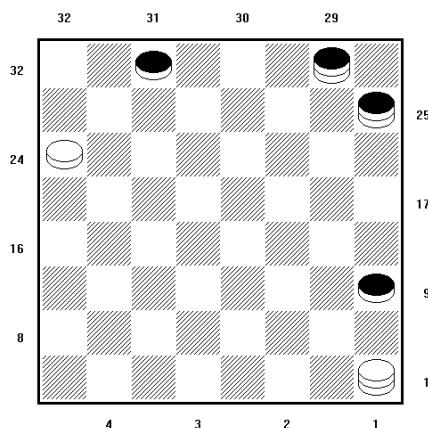


Position of “saque de peon”

6. In the book of 1635 we do not find the famous composition "saque de peon" which was mentioned by Pedro Ruiz Montero in his book of 1591. This endgame was probably developed later than 1547. If the draughts book of Timoneda really was from 1635, why did this composition not appear in it? Was this a mistake of Pedro Ruiz Montero? Against the old rules here the black pawns are on the low numbers. (In the book of Pedro Ruiz Montero this author indicates that white starts in the opening on the low numbers).

7. Like in the chess book of Lucena (1497) the author is using the ancient words "barra" and “barra larguera“ for the long diagonal in the book of Timoneda, too. Later on other authors used the expression "calle larga".

8. The original texts in the book of Juan de Timoneda printed in 1635 were not written in 1635, but nearly a century earlier. The book, printed in 1635, has in fact two books: one of Juan de Timoneda and another of an author called Antonio Miron y del Castillo. The latter work was probably written in 1610.



Position of Pedro Ruiz Montero

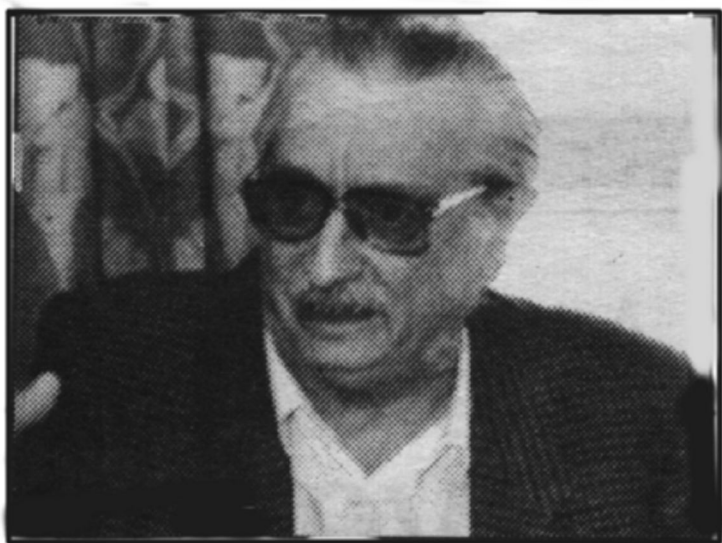
9. Juan de Timoneda, printer and bookseller, lived from 1520 until 1583, and probably made a copy of several draughts books or draughts manuscripts which would be published after his death as a draughts book in 1635. If the book of Antonio de Torquemada (1547) really did exist, then is that for the most part incorporated in the book of 1635, with the exception of a composition to which Pedro Ruiz Montero *Montero* (1591:24) refers in his draughts book and which is seen in the diagram.

10. The royal printer *Juan Boude* in Tolosa used in his book of 1635 the names of two draughts authors: *Juan de Timoneda* and *Antonio Miron y del Castillo*. Therefore everything indicates that the print of 1635 was a collection of old draughts works. In this context it is necessary to quote *Richard Twiss* (1805:138) who wrote: *I once saw a small Spanish book, juego de las damas, being only ends of games and cuts of the board, printed about the year 1610.*

11. According to scholars who investigated the books and the life of Juan de Timoneda we know that he frequently used the double d., double f, and double s. and we are aware of other language features that characterized Timoneda's writing style (Timoneda, 1567/1971:33). The same is the case in the dama book of 1635.

12. In the book of 1635 the name of the game is "juego de Marro de Punta" and not one page has the expression "el juego de damas". In all the other books [known in the XVI and XVII centuries] the word "Damas" is used. In Timoneda occurs the word **ingenio**, same as in the book of Torquemada. It was very common to describe everything with **ingenio** in the 16th century.

13. To support my hypothesis I paid a visit in 1991 to Professor Juan Fuster (1922-1992) in Sueca near Valencia. He was a notorious expert in the works of Timoneda. He also discovered a lost work by Timoneda that initially no one attributed to Timoneda. The presumption that the language used in the draughts book of 1635 stems from the 16th century was confirmed by him, whereas to my surprise he also quoted that the verses in the book of Timoneda cannot be attributed to him. These verses were often used by the Castilian poets of the 15th century.



Prof. Joan Fuster

The initial hypothesis (Westerveld, 1989:46-47) was in all respects contested by the historian Kruijswijk (Timoneda, 1635/1989:106-109) with the concluding observations:

Herewith is paid sufficient attention to the arguments that led to this epilogue. They have given so much contradiction that I see no reason to attribute the work of Timoneda published in 1635 to another author.

Another Dutch historian Van der Stoep did see some bright spots in the aforementioned hypotheses 7, 12, and 13:

(....) These three arguments together suggest anyway that Timoneda's book, and so Timoneda-2 motif, is from the 16th century *XVI* (Stoep, 1993:86).

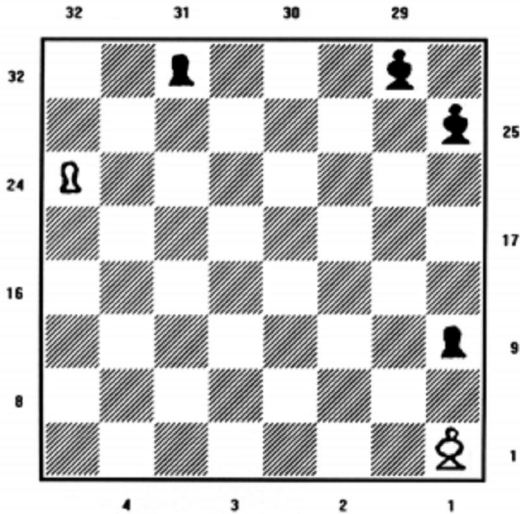
The draughts historian Ir. Gerard Bakker also found it a really strong story (1989:33). Bakker wrote (1990:22):

Probably right, because Kruiswijk's counterargument to every single point seems relevant. And he is not right, because Westerveld's arguments one by one do not appear as strong, but together they very clearly (continue to) point towards the 16th century origin.

Hypothesis that the majority of Timoneda 1635 is the work of Antonio de Torquemada

The draughts bibliophile Victor Martín Cantalapiedra from Valladolid believes that if Kruijswijk (1966:80) attributes the final to Antonio de Torquemada (1547) this is based on a misunderstanding. According to him one cannot simply say this when other writers such as Caro (1624/1978, Tomo I:204) and Guerra (1595) discuss a draughts author called Valle. If we consider this possibility and also the fact that Timoneda was a plagiarist of many works, we may suggest the idea that the draughts book in question came not from the hand of Timoneda.

Since there is nothing known about Valle, I start from the assumption that Juan de Timoneda had to do with Antonio de Torquemada. A first hypothesis to clear up certain matters (Westerveld, 1993:87) that the position of Antonio de Torquemada, as given by Kruiswijk, could be based on a misunderstanding was adequately refuted by Viergever (1993:88).



The oldest known draughts position (here on 10 x 10 board)

Another attempt (Westerveld, 1993:87) based on the assumption that the term Damas could not occur in the title of Torquemada was also refuted by the discovery of Jansen (1997). He showed that the word Damas already occurred in 1554 in Spanish literature (Pettas, 1995), because of a book entitled *luego de Damas*.

Further research (Westerveld, 1994:77-79) revealed that only two printers (Serrano, 1868) could have been eligible to work as a printer for the probable draughts book of Antonio de Torquemada in 1547: Juan Mey, who was a printer in Valencia between 1535 and 1555, and Juan de Timoneda. The first printer, the Fleming Juan Mey, printed

most of his works in Latin. Many historians doubt if Timoneda was really a printer. Whatever the case may be, Timoneda settled exactly in 1547 as a bookseller and must undoubtedly have been aware of the draughts book of Torquemada (if it really ever would have been printed in 1547).

In the book of Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591) there appears a poem in the name of Miguel Borrás. According to Alexander (1923, Nº 9), Miguel Borrás was a reputable name in the literature of that time. In a book that covers all Valencian poets (Puig, 1883; Martí, 1927), it does not say anything about Miguel Borrás. The situation is different in the book that discusses all printers in Valencia (Serrano, 1868:41). It appeared that Miguel Borrás was not a poet by profession, but rather a bookseller in 1575-1600. There was even a business relationship between Juan de Timoneda and Miguel Borrás (Westerveld, 1995:6), as appears in the title:

«Timon de / Tratantes, compuesto por Ioan Timoneda, / muy necesario y provechoso / de saber á todo tratante q huviere de dar y recebir dineros y pagar soldados, alquileres de casas, con / otras cosas bien importantes / para mercaderes. / Agora nuevamente en esta postrera impresión mejora-/do, y añadido en todos los capítulos y tablas./ Dirigido al illustre señor Don Giner de Perillós./ Impresso en Valencia, en casa de Pedro de Huerte, 1575. Vendense en casa de Miguel Borrás / librero, a la calle de Cavalleros.»

We see a relationship in chronological order: *Antonio de Torquemada* - *Juan de Timoneda* - *Miguel Borrás* - *Pedro Ruiz Montero*. Pedro Ruiz Montero probably did not know the very first author of a draughts book and nor did Miguel Borrás. It is logical to think that Miguel Borrás as bookseller had informed him about certain draughts positions.

Antonio de Torquemada and Juan de Timoneda were famous writers of many different works of their time. I start from the assumption that they were not draughts players. Draughts authors generally tend to enhance each other. Pedro Ruiz Montero wanted to do the same with an earlier unknown draughts author from Valencia. For now we can safely assume that he meant Torquemada, until Cantalapiedra comes with leads of evidence. We do not know anything from Torquemada, and so far we only know that the work of Timoneda was printed not earlier than 1635.

Meanwhile we have discovered five new positions from the work of Alonso Guerra (1595) in a Portuguese draughts bulletin (1984-1985), positions that were supplied by Cantalapiedra.

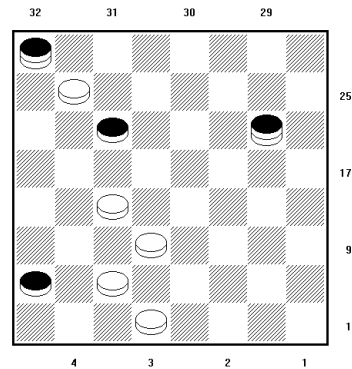


Diagram 1

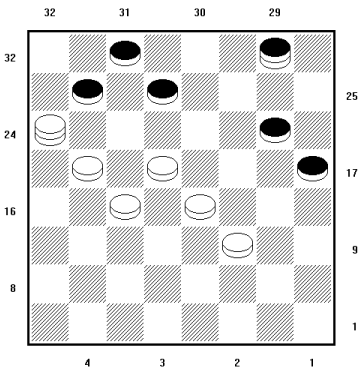


Diagram 2

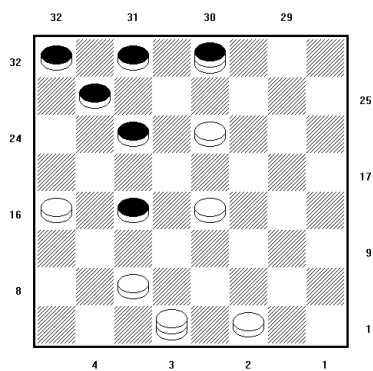


Diagram 3

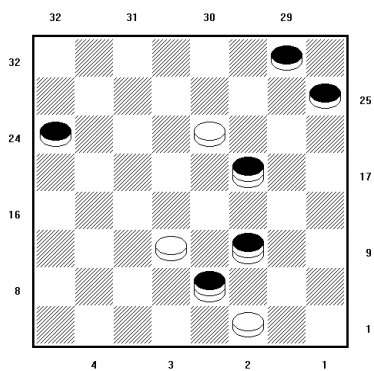


Diagram 4

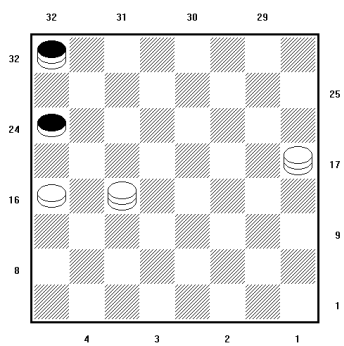


Diagram 5

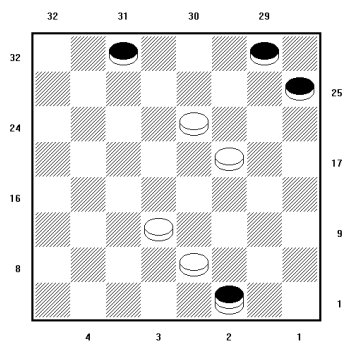


Diagram 6

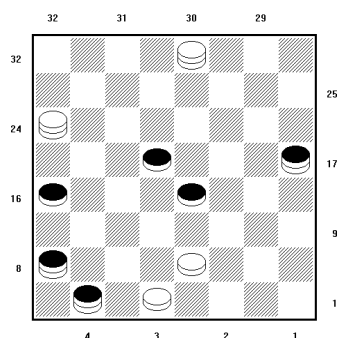


Diagram 7

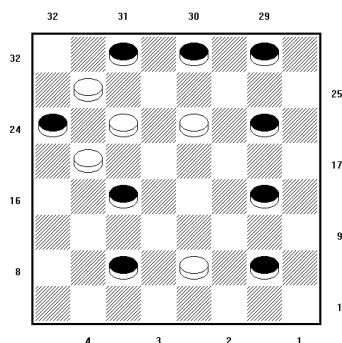


Diagram 8

The positions 1 to 5 are thus newly found, while positions 6 to 8 were known for years and contained in the book of Viergever (1983:43). In the latest edition of Viergever (1996:18) all 8 positions are listed. [Here in this book] the positions are all black¹⁰⁷ to win and reflected on the white squares, with the long line on the right. This is done in order to display the precise historical situation on the board. Other historians use the black squares and the diagonal lines on the left side, but this is not an exact historical description. Furthermore they use erroneously the names Montero and Canalejas, while the surnames should be Ruiz and García. In Spain children have two surnames: one of the father and another of the mother, but in daily life people use more the surname of the father than that of the mother.

¹⁰⁷ In my book of 1997 was written “white to win”, but the real historical event in the ancient Spanish draughts book is “black to win”.



Juan de Timoneda

The positions 2, 3, and 4 are also in the work of Timoneda, whereas the positions 1 and 8 are similar to those that occur in the book of Timoneda. Position 6 is practically identical to that of Antonio Miron y del Castillo, an author who also occurs in the work of Timoneda. Position 7 is a simpler form of García (1650), while position 1 is new and ingenious as described by Cantalapiedra. According to the information of Cantalapiedra (1997) there are 9 Guerra problems which also occur in the book of Timoneda. To date it is still assumed that the work of Alonso Guerra (1595) appeared 40 years earlier than the Timoneda book (1635). I think that Alonso Guerra was aware of the draughts works mentioned in the work of Timoneda and that he copied more than one composition. Perhaps the positions listed In Timoneda are partly taken from Torquemada. Here I will try to show why I think that Timoneda could be nothing else than Torquemada:

1. In 1635 a book was written on Timoneda, because they knew that the work had to do with *Juan de Timoneda* and Antonio Miron y del Castillo *belonged* to the famous writer, publisher, and book dealer Juan Timoneda in Valencia. This work probably did not even have an author's name, but because it belonged to Timoneda his name was put on the book. It is also quite possible that the plagiarist Timoneda simply once issued the work of Torquemada himself, because he did something like that with many works. Timoneda was just a businessman and published everything. Perhaps someone thought in 1635 to take care of a reprint. Timoneda started as a bookseller / printer in Valencia in 1547 and ought to have known the first work of Torquemada in 1547 in Valencia, and here I assume that the work of Torquemada really had existed.

2. In the book of Timoneda (= Torquemada) one certain composition is still missing. All hope is placed that this is the referred position of diagram 1. Then we cannot exclude anymore that Timoneda is the same as Torquemada. Unfortunately we do not know more positions of Torquemada and probably the book was lost.

3. Timoneda (= Torquemada) is written in the same manner as the first chess book of Lucena (1497); thus diagrams with a description of how we should play. There are only problems and endgames, no openings. The latter will be the case in the book of Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591). The book of Timoneda was a kind of textbook for a new game and there is not written anything about other authors, because they probably still did not exist. What Lucena was for the origin of the new chess Dama in the chess game was Timoneda (=Torquemada) for the new draughts game.

4. The first chess book of Lucena was written and dedicated to Prince Johan, son of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabelle and Ferdinand. Torquemada was the secretary of Antonio Alfonso Pimentel (1514 – 1575), Count of Benavente, who was a very good friend of the Emperor Charles V. The Count of Benavente was the godfather and guardian of Philip II. Such diagram books cost a fortune at that time

and could practically only be financed if they served for special occasions. It is therefore quite possible that the very first draughts book of Torquemada was especially dedicated to Philip II.

5. New writers of draughts books refer to positions of previous authors or intend to enhance them. This is the case with Pedro Ruiz Montero (1591) who wanted to ameliorate Torquemada (=Timoneda), and Alonso Guerra (1595) who referred to positions and motifs of Timoneda (=Torquemada). The motif of Antonio del Castillo (1610?) could eventually be added later, during the reprint of 1635. Thereafter Lorenço Valls intended to enhance Pedro Ruiz Montero in 1597. And then Juan García Canalejas was doing the same in 1650 trying to ameliorate Lorenço Valls. Next Joseph Carlos Garcez (1684) wrote about Juan García Canalejas. In this list of draughts authors only Timoneda 1635 (= Torquemada) was not doing so.

6. In the book of Timoneda there is a poem that Professor Joan Fuster attributes to the Castilian poets.

7. Jansen recently discovered that in the inventory of the books and paper trading of Giovanni di Giunta (1554) eleven copies occur of a little draughts book (Pettas, 1995) entitled: *Iuego [de?] Damas* “pp 25” in Burgos in 1556. The term “pp” means small size and the price was 25 maravedis. Burgos is located about 200km from Benavente, the village where Antonio de Torquemada was employed by the Count of Benavente.

Conclusion

Seeing the old language the texts in the book of Timoneda of 1635 may be estimated to be from around 1550. The draughts book of Timoneda is unique in the world, as Francisco Henriques (1959, N° 35:6) experienced and only Cantalapiedra knows where the original of the book is located, but he does not want to disclose it. As a true Spaniard he does not like to see that Spain is losing its culture. Enough old unique Spanish books were sold abroad in the past.



Draughts book of Juan de Timoneda, 1635

The term Damas (juego de Damas) already existed in 1554 in Burgos (Castile) and everything seems to indicate that the term Damas came from Castile and that it was introduced in the kingdom of Aragon

where the term Marro de punta was common. Now it also explains why the very first draughts book had two terms, Damas for the kingdom of Castile and Marro de punta for the kingdom of Aragon. It is logical to assume that the draughts book occurring in Burgos, 1554 was nothing else but the draughts book of Antonio de Torquemada. The period 1547 - 1554 is rather short and therefore it can be very well considered for that.



Engraving of Boscan (1553)
The title begins just as in Timoneda.

The draughts book of Timoneda of 1635 has about 36 sheets or 72 pages. The alleged book of Burgos, as defined in 1554, is a book of small size. The number of pages in the book of Timoneda is more extensive. Timoneda had probably multiple draughts works at his disposal, including Torquemada. Although in the title of his draughts book the name Juan Timoneda occurs, we have often used the name Juan de Timoneda. It often was a custom in those days to omit the prefix "de" in the name (Ferreres, 1971:9).



Book of Juan Garcia Canalejas, Zaragoza 1656

Ignorance affirms or denies emphatically; science doubts.
François Marie Arouet Voltaire

14. DRAUGHTS AND GAME BOOKS

In order to have an exact current image of the Spanish draughts literature and the first foreign works as well as the general literature on the games around 1500-1700 we will indicate a chronological relation of these works. The collection of Spanish draughts books by the Portuguese Francisco Henriques was recently acquired by his compatriot Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro.

DRAUGHTS BOOKS WRITTEN UNTIL 1996

1547 ANTONIO DE TORQUEMADA

El ingenio, ò juego de Marro, de punta, ò Damas. Valencia. (Lost book?).

1550? VALLE

This author really existed according to Victor Cantalapiedra Martin and he has been quoted by us several times in draughts magazines. See Viergever¹⁰⁸ for complete information.

1591 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO

Libro del Juego de las Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia.

In possession of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, Cleveland Public Library, and Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro.

¹⁰⁸ VIERGEVER, JAAP (1996) Eindspel-encyclopedie, Volume 1: Eindspelkomposities uit de Spaanse en Portugese damliteratuur. Boeken en tijdschriften tot en met 1946

1591 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO

Libro del Juego de las Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, Valencia. Estudio histórico - bibliográfico de Govert Westerveld, Beniel, 1992, 102 pages.

1595 ALONSO GUERRA

Libro para jugar a las damas, compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la Villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia. (written around 1595). Reduzido assimismo en este mesmo estilo por el dicho Ldo Don Diego de Argomedo. En este año de 1658. (In possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín of Valladolid).

1597 LORENZO VALLS

Libro del Juego de las Damas, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta, Valencia. (The book is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, British Museum of London, Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Biblioteca estatal of Berlin, and the private possession of Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro.

1635 JUAN DE TIMONEDA

Libro llamado Ingenio, el qual trata del Juego del Marro de punta, hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa.

This book is in a Spanish private possession. Victoria Vindel sold a copy to Francisco Henriques of Portugal in 1945.

1635 JUAN DE TIMONEDA

Libro llamado Ingenio, el qual trata del Juego del Marro de punta, hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa. Edition of K.W. Kruijswijk. Editorial L'Esprit, Rosmalen 1989.

1635 JUAN DE TIMONEDA

Libro llamado Ingenio, el qual trata del Juego del Marro de punta, hecho por Juan de Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Señor don Ynnigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa. Edition of Govert Westerveld, Beniel (Murcia) España, 1992, 82 páginas.

1650 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS

Libro del Juego de las Damas, Zaragoza, 144 pages.

There were two editions in Zaragoza - both are in the library of Víctor Cantalapiedra of Valladolid. (Also in: British Museum, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, National Library of Madrid, Biblioteca Colombina of Seville, and the private collection of Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro. The year 1610 has been incorrectly associated with the first edition¹⁰⁹ in some bibliographies¹¹⁰.

1654 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS

Libro del Juego de las Damas, Barcelona. Reedición de 1650?
According to Victor Cantalapiedra this book never existed.

1656 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS

Libro del Juego de las Damas, Zaragoza. Reedición de 1650.

The cover of the 1656 edition according to Kruijswijk¹¹¹ is found in the book of Francisco Vindel¹¹². Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro and Victor Cantalapiedra do not believe in the existence of this book.

¹⁰⁹ KRUIJSWIJK, KAREL WENDEL (1966a) *Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel*, Den Haag, p. 190

¹¹⁰ ALLIEY, CAMILLE THÉODORE FRÉDÉRIC (1850) *Bibliographie complète, analytique, raisonnée et par ordre alphabétique, de tous les ouvrages connus en toutes les langues, sur le Jeu de Dames (...)*. France.

¹¹¹ KRUIJSWIJK, KAREL WENDEL (1966a) *Algemene historie en bibliografie van het damspel*, Den Haag, p. 189

¹¹² VINDEL, FRANCISCO (1930) *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo Hispano-Americano*, Madrid, Volume 4, section 1103

1658 ALONSO GUERRA/DIEGO DE ARGOMEDO

Libro para Jugar a las Damas.

Don Diego de Argomedo has made a manuscript version of Alonso Guerra's book of 1595. The manuscript is in the possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín of Valladolid.

1659 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO/DIEGO DE ARGOMEDO

Don Diego de Argomedo made a version of Pedro Ruiz Montero's book of 1591 in the form of a manuscript. This manuscript is in the possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín de Valladolid. Both manuscripts (1658 and 1659) have the total of 148 pages.

1684 JOSEPH CARLOS GARCEZ

Libro nuevo, Juego de damas - Madrid, 244 pages.

This book is in the possession of Victor Cantalapiedra and Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro. This work can also be found in the Biblioteca del Palacio in Madrid and in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid under number 3-58606¹¹³. (Aguilar, 1986, tomo 4:10).

1718 PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL

Médula eutropelia, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Madrid, casa de Blas Villa Nueva. 214 pages.

The author is known by the name "The Incognito", and the name is a pseudonym of Fray Gabriel de la Concepción. The book is in the possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín, Francisco Henriques, Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro, and the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.

1725? PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL

Médula eutropelia, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Sevilla, imprenta de Recientes en calle de Génova, without year, about 1725. 223 pages.

This edition is even rarer than the one before. Mr. Cantalapiedra from Valladolid knows of only one copy and has never seen another.

¹¹³ AGUILAR PIÑAL, Francisco (1986) Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII, Volume 4, p. 10

Apparently there is another copy in the city of La Laguna (Tenerife) in the Canary Islands, in the University Library under number 6510¹¹⁴.

1740? JOSÉ PADRINO

Librero; Médula eutropelia, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Reedición: en la Imprenta de los Recientes, en calle de Génova, Sevilla. 233 pages.

In this edition the name of Pablo Cecina Rica does not appear and the influence of José Padrino is perceived for many reasons. This is also a rare book, but substantially less rare than the previous two books. It is in the library of Victor Cantalapiedra Martin from Valladolid. According to Dr. Manuel Cárceles Sabater¹¹⁵ there was a revised edition of the book made by Padrino, also published in Seville without mentioning the year.

1750? EL CANONIGO

Libro de Juego de Damas. En el que se ponen las mas firmes salidas assi de mano como de postre; muchos lances sueltos de peones, y algunos de Gana Pierde, Compuesto por un Canónigo del Sacro Monte de la Ciudad de Granada, en conferencias, que hubo, con los mejores jugadores de España cuyos nombres se expresan.

A photocopy of the manuscript is in possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martin from Valladolid. The manuscript was rediscovered by Govert Westerveld in 1993 in one of the libraries of Andalucia and a copy was provided by Westerveld¹¹⁶ to Ir. Jaap Viergever. The date of the book, Kruijswijk and Viergever estimate, is around 1650. Cantalapiedra currently estimates it to be around 1690.

¹¹⁴ AGUILAR PIÑAL, Francisco (1986) Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII, Volume 7

¹¹⁵ CÁRCELES SABATER, MANUEL (1905) Tratado del juego de damas, Madrid, p. 35

¹¹⁶ WESTERVELD, GOVERT (1996a) Draughts magazine *De problemist*, Amersfoort, p. 46

1759 PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL.

Médula eutropelia, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Madrid, imprenta de Francisco Xavier Garcia. 184 pages.

There are two editions from this year. 184 pages. According to Aguilar¹¹⁷ this work is in the National Library of Madrid under number 2-29449, Oviedo University Library under numbers G-869 and G-877, and Granada University Library under No. A-34-348. Victor Cantalapiedra Martín and Francisco Henriques also have a copy.

1792 JOSEF ANTONIO GARCIA

Juego de Damas. Resumen del juego de damas. 1792. 56 pages.

This work was rediscovered by the eminent historian Professor Juan Torres Fontes of the University of Murcia¹¹⁸. The copy from Murcia has only 50 pages, and we know that the original book had 56 pages. We know this thanks to the research of the draughts historian Rob Jansen who found it in the *Bibliografía de Autores Españoles*¹¹⁹, which mentions that the book is in the National Library of Madrid under number VE 561 and also in the Municipal Archives of Murcia under number GE 165.

1798 LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Armas contra la espada y broquel de Don Pablo Cecina Rica y Fergel. Orihuela; por Antonio Santa Maria, 162 pages.

Very rare, there is probably a book somewhere in the USA.

1819 PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL.

Médula eutropelia, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Madrid, imprenta de Collado, 184 pages.

¹¹⁷ AGUILAR PIÑAL, Francisco (1986) *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, Volume 4, p. 10

¹¹⁸ WESTERVELD, GOVERT (1992) *Draughts magazine Het Nieuwe Damspel*, Utrecht, p. 87

¹¹⁹ AGUILAR PIÑAL, Francisco (1986) *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, Volume 4, p. 79

It is quoted in the Catálogo de la Librería Hesperia, 34, No. 222 according to Aguilar¹²⁰ (1986, vol 4:10). In possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín, Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro, and the National Library of Madrid. Apparently it is a work that one can still find easily.

1819 LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Armas contra la espada y broquel de Don Pablo Cecina Rica y Fergel. Madrid, imprenta de José Espinosa, 117 pages.

This work is in Madrid, National Library, VE 561 according to Aguilar¹²¹, but it is unclear whether the year is 1798 or 1819. According to the magazine *The American Checker Monthly*, Kansas City, (1928:134-135) there is also an undated issue from around 1819. In possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín.

18..?? LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Armas contra la espada y broquel de Don Pablo Cecina Rica y Fergel. Madrid; y tambien contra otros autores que han escrito sobre el juego de las Damas, su autor Don Luis Soler y Rovira, Madrid: En la imprenta de Don José Espinosa. 116 pages.

In possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín.

1825 LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Reglas y costumbres mejor establecidas para aprender a jugar a las damas. Rebatiendo algunas autores que han escrito sobre la materia. Reimpreso en Murcia, oficina de D. José Santa-Maria. 116 pages.

1838 Unknown author.

Juego de damas, Madrid, en imprenta Yenes, 22 pages. (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid).

¹²⁰ AGUILAR PIÑAL, Francisco (1986) Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII, Volume 4, p. 10

¹²¹ AGUILAR PIÑAL, Francisco (1993) Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII, Volume 7, p. 728

1839 P.F.P. (Initial letters of an unknown author).

Juego de Damas. Colección general de juegos permitidos para la distracción de toda clase y condición de la sociedad, por D.F.F. Y P.B. Barcelona, tipografía de Juan Francisco Piferrer, 36 pages. It is a rare book. (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and Victor Cantalapiedra Martín).

1872. FRANCISCO LOZANO FRAU

Nuevo tratado del Juego de Damas, Gabriel Sánchez, Madrid. 60 pages.

In possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín, Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro, and Francisco Henriques.

1875 ENRIQUE MOYA Y PEREZ

Tratado completo del Juego de Damas, Valencia, Librería de Pascual Aquilar, 200 pages.

It is a very rare book. (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and Victor Cantalapiedra Martín).

1897 E.L.C. (Initial letters of an unknown author).

Manual del juego de damas, arreglado por nuevo método, Granada, 191 pages.

According to Cantalapiedra there are only two copies in the world. One is in the Cleveland Public Library (number 95) and the other is number 79, which he has in his possession.

1900 MANUEL GRANADES OLMEDES

El tablero a la vista o Juego de Damas, Córdoba, edición de Jaime Costa.

Cantalapiedra has never seen a copy, although the book was well known according to Dr. Cárcelos Sabater in 1905.

1902 LUIS MARCOS Y EUGENIO OCHOA

Repertorio completo de todos los juegos, impreso por Billy Baillière é Hijos. (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid).

According to **Palau** this work would have been printed in the years 1897, 1898, and 1899. It is a well known work and in possession of Victor Cantalapiedra Martín.

1904 DR. MANUEL CARCELES SABATER

Tratado del Juego de Damas.

It is a much better written work than its predecessors. It is very hard to find it today. (National Library of Madrid, Victor Cantalapiedra Martín, and Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro.)

1906 ESCUDERO, R.P.

Juego de Damas.

This book is cited in the magazine *The American Checker Monthly* (1922:146). This book has nothing to do with the game of checkers, because it refers to the ladies.

1909 ENRIQUE FLAQUER

¿Quiere Usted aprender Jugar a las Damas? Barcelona, without date. (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid , Victor Cantalapiedra Martín and Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro).

1911 TES/VARIOS.

Tesoro de juego de Sociedad. Contiene las reglas y leyes de más de treinta juegos permitidos en toda clase de sociedades casinos, reuniones particulares y cafés. El tresillo, Billar, Ajedrez, Whist, Dominó, Lotería, Chaquete, Damas, Solo, Ciudadela, Malilla, Batalla, Ecarté, Burro. Hijos Fr. Sabater, Barcelona. 268 pages.

This book is about checkers. (According to **Palau** this book would have been printed in the years 1851, 1875, 1881, 1896, and 1934).

1930 S. PUIG

Manual del Juego de Damas, Barcelona. 39 pages.

It was printed around 1930 and is a rare book.

1930? JOSE DURAN OLLE

This Catalan was a student of Dr. Cárceles. He wrote an extensive manual of at least 335 pages that has not been edited yet. It is in the library of Victor Cantalapiedra from Valladolid.

1931 FRANCISCO VINDEL

Manual Gráfico-Descriptivo del Bibliófilo Hispano-Americano (1475-1850) por Francisco Vindel con un prólogo de D. Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, catedrático de bibliografía de la universidad central. Tomo IX, SAM-T. Madrid.

1941 DR. CARLOS RODRÍGUEZ LAFORA

Los finales del juego de damas, Gran Canarias. Manuscript of about 170 pages. In possession of Francisco Henriques, Dr. Cândido de Sena Carneiro, and Govert Westerveld.



Dr. Carlos R. Lafora



Dr. Cândido Sena de Carneiro

1960 SAAVDROVITCH, M.

Juego de Damas, Madrid 128 pages.

It discusses police matters and has nothing to do with draughts.

1972 TOMAS CABREJAS RABAL

Domino, Ajedrez, damas y otros juegos. Editorial Sintet S.A. Santander.

1983 VIERGEVER, IR. JAAP.

Eindspel -encyclopedia, tomo 1:

Compositions of the endgames of the late Spanish literature about checkers.

1990 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Las damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero, Beniel, Volume I, 130 pages

1992 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Las damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero Beniel, Volume II, 105 pages.

1992 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Las damas: Ciencia sobre un tablero Beniel, Volume III, 115 pages.

1992 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Damas Españolas: 100 golpes de apertura, Beniel, 112 pages.

1992 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Damas Españolas: 100 problemas propios con solamente peones, Beniel, 112 pages.

1996 VIERGEVER, IR. JAAP

Enciclopedia de finales, Volume 1:

Compositions of the endgames of the late Spanish and Portuguese literature about checkers.. Books and magazines until 1946.

THE FIRST FOREIGN DRAUGHTS BOOKS

FRANCE

1668 MALLET, PIERRE

Le jeu des dames - Avec toutes les maximes et règles, tant générales que particulières, qu'il faut observer an icelui. Et la méthode d'y bien jouer". - Paris.

1727 DIEGO CAVALLERO DEL QUERCETANO

L'Égide de Pallas- "ou théorie et pratique du jeu de dames", Paris.

GERMANY

1700 SCHMIDT, JOHANN WOLFGANG.

Unterschiedliche Spiel und Vorstellungen des weitberühmten Damspiels, - denen Liebhabern zu ehren welche schon etwas Wissenschaft davon haben.- Nürnberg (manuscript)

1744 F.T.V.

Das erklärte Damen-spiel,- “oder erster Versuch einer kunst-mäszigen und ausführlichen Anweisung zu solchem Spiele um dasselbe niemals zu verlieren”. Magdeburg.

GREAT BRITAIN

1756 WILLIAM PAYNE

An introduction to the game of Draughts, containing fifty select games, together with many critical situations for Drawn games, won games, and fine strokes. The whole designed for the instruction of young players, in this innocent and delightful amusement, London.

1787 WILLIAM PAINTER

A companion for the draught-player, London 1787.

1800 JOSHUA STURGES

Guide to the game of draughts, London.

THE NETHERLANDS

1785 EPHRAIM VAN EMBDEN.

Verhandeling over het damspel, Amsterdam.

1798 PIETER CURTEN

Enige fraaye zetten op het dambord. Manuscript.

1804 PIETER CURTEN



Verzameling van fraaye zetten op het dambord,
Rotterdam. Manuscript.

ITALY

1800 UNKNOWN AUTHOR

Giuoco cosi detto della dama spiegatgo in tutte le sue parti, Milano.

1830 C. MANCINI

Il giuoco della dama all'uso italiano, Firenze.

1832 LORENZO SONZOGNO

Il Maestro di giuochi della Dama all' Italiana e alla Polacca, e degli
Scacchi, Milano.

RUSIA

1827 PETROFF, A.D.

Manual with deep knowledge of the game of checkers or the art of
winning everyone in the game of ordinary checkers, San Petersburgo.
(Translation of the Russian text).



Draughts in Russia

ESTADOS UNIDOS

1815 PEARCE, B.

An improved system for playing the polite and scientific game of draughts or checkers, Albany - New York.

SPANISH BOOKS ABOUT GAMES

560-636 SAN ISIDORO DE SEVILA. Etymologiarum.

There is an edition of Bac from Madrid, 1982. This work described the naming of the elements of tabula board games (Alea).

1250? RECUEIL DE MOTETS. Manuscrito del siglo XIII. Museum Atger, Montpellier. Reedición de Rene Nelli: Trovadores y troveros. Libros legendarios de Oriente y Occidente. José J. Olañete Editor, Barcelona, 1982.

1283 ALFONSO X EL SABIO.

Libro del Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas. Reedición Madrid, 1987.

1314 ALFONSO X DE EL SABIO.

Ordenamiento de las tafurerias que fue fecho en la era de 1314 años.
De orden y a expensas de S.M., Imprenta Real, Madrid 1836.

1380-1450 JACOBUS DE CESSOLIS

Lo libre dels bones costums dels homes é dels officis dels nobles sobre el Joch del Eschachs. (Catalan version).

Brunet¹²² mentions that the original manuscript is in the Cathedral of Gerona and that a similar edition is in the monastery of San Cugat (Barcelona), but it is damaged. Brunet made a facsimile in 1900.

1400 ANONYM.

Tractatus de ludo scacorum. Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional. Vitrine 25-6
This is a lost version of the work of Jacobus de Cessolis. There is a facsimile of the Dirección de Archivos y Bibliotecas, Madrid 1970.

1473 PARIDE DEL POZZO

Incipit tractatus lv dorvm ad breve conpendivm redvctvs per dominvm paridem de pvteo legvm docto rem in civitate nea polis mvltis per evm aditis die qvarta oc tobris. M.CCCC.LXXII.

(Italian jurist with a high position in the court of Naples and in service of the Aragonese King Alfonso I)

1480 JACOBUS DE CESSOLIS.

Incipit libellus de ludo schaccorum et de dictis factisque nobilium verorum preclarorum et antiquorum. Prolegus libelli. In the “Libreria Real” of Madrid according to Brunet¹²³.

1485 PARIDE DEL POZZO

De materia ludi, Nápoles. (Naples belonged to the Aragonese Crown in those years).

¹²² BRUNET Y BELLET, JOSÉ (1891) El Ajedrez, Investigaciones sobre su origen, Barcelona, p. 280

¹²³ BRUNET Y BELLET, JOSÉ (1891) El Ajedrez, Investigaciones sobre su origen, Barcelona, p. 281

1495 VICENT, FRANCESH.

Libre dels joch partitis del Scachs en nombre de 100 ordenat e compost per mi Francesh Vicent, nat en la ciutat de Segorbe, criat e vehí de la insigne e valeroso ciutat de Valencia. Y acaba: A loor e gloria de nostre Redentor Jesu Christ fou acabat lo dit libre dels jochs partitis dels scachs en la sinsigne ciutat de Valencia e estampat per mans de Lope de Roca Alemany e Pere Trinchet librere á XV días de Maig del any MCCCCLXXXV.

1497 LUCENA, LUIS RAMIREZ DE.

Repetición de amores e arte de Axedres con CL Juegos de Partido. Salamanca. Edición J.M. de Cossio, *Joyas Bibliográficas*, Madrid 1953.

1497 VINYOLES, NARCÍS.

Escacs d'amor, Valencia; ver Antoni Ferrando Francés, Universitat de València, Facultat de Filologia, Narcís Vinyoles i la seua obra, Valencia, 1978

1500 MS 0 III.

Chess manuscript discovered by Dr. Ricardo Calvo which is in the library of El Escorial in Madrid.

1502 ANONYM

Libro del juego de las Suertes.

An edition of Milano is mentioned from March 1502 in the records of the Biblioteca Colombina.

1507 ANONYM

Espejo de la conciencia. Capítulo: “cuantes maneras hay de juegos”., edición Arnao Guillén de Brócar.

This CONFESARIO book, written by an anonymous friar, was found in the library of the Marquis of Benavente.

1515 LORENZO SPIRITO.

Libro del juego de las Suertes, Valencia.

There is an edition of Jorge Costilla from Valencia that was previously the work of Joffre¹²⁴. The work of Jorge Costilla is estimated to be around 1515 in the Registrum Cólón¹²⁵.

1528 LORENZO SPIRITO?

Libro del juego de las Suertes, edición de Juan Joffre de Valencia. Edición de Rosa Navarro Duran, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid 1986.

There were also editions in 1534 and 1535.

1519 FRAY PEDRO DE COBARRUBIAS

Remedio de jugadores, Burgos.

1521 LOPEZ DE YANGUAS

Juan Joffre. Facsímil de la edición de 1521. En cuatro obras del bachiller Hernán López de Yanguas, Valencia, 1960.

1528 DIEGO DE CASTILLO DE VILLASANTE

Tratado muy util y provechoso en reprovación de los juegos, Valladolid, Nicolás Tyerri. (There is also an edition of 1557 in Seville)

1539 ANTONIO DE GUEVARA

Menosprecio de la Corte y alabanza de la aldea; Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos; De los inventores del arte del marear y de muchos trabajos aque se pasan en las galeras, Valladolid. Reedición, Catedra, Madrid, 1984.

1541 FRAY JUAN DE MALDONADO

Opúscula, Burgos.

¹²⁴ SALVÁ, Pedro. (1872) Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá, Valencia, 1872, II, núm. 2522, pp. 342-342

¹²⁵ PALAU Y DULCET, Antonio (1954) *Manual of the Hispanic-American Bookseller*, Barcelona, Lib. Palau, VII, p. 551

1543 FRAY PEDRO DE COBARRUBIAS

Remedio de jugadores, Burgos.

1549 FRANCISCO VALLES

Libro de refranes, Zaragoza, Juan Millán.

1549 PRAGMATICAS

A really spread pragmatic given by the Catholic Monarchs in 1500 about *the way they have to claim the penalties of games in the kingdom*. (Spanish Jurisdiction ordered by the Catholic Monarchs in 1500 against games)

1549 ABU MANSUR ABDELMALEK BEN MAHAMAD BEN ISMAIL ALTALABI.

Arab-Persian chess book found in **El Escorial**.

1549 MARTIN DE REYNA

Dechado de la vida humana, moralmente sacado del juego de ajedrez. Traduzido agora de nuevo, por el licenciado Reyna. Vezino de la villa de Aranda de Duero, en este año de 1549.

1553 ANTONIO DE TORQUEMADA.

Los colloquios satiricos, con un colloquio pastoril, y gracioso al cabo dellos hechos por Antonio de Torquemada (...), Mondoñedo.

1554 DIEGO SÁNCHEZ DE BADAJOZ

Recopilación en metro del Bachiller Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, en la qual por gracioso, cortesano y pastoril estilo se cuentan declaran muchas figuras y autoridades de la sagrada scriptura, Sevilla.

(He wrote a poem *Matraca de jugadores* about players)

1557 FRAY DOMINGO DE VALTAÑAS

- HUERGA, ALVARO

La obra literaria de Fr. Domingo de Valtañas, en Corrientes espirituales en la España del siglo XVI (II Congreso de Espiritualidad

de la Universidad Pontífica de Salamanca), Barcelona, 1963. Esta es una mejora del **Tratado de Diego de Castillo (1528) sobre la reprobación de los juegos**, nueva edición con correcciones del Fray Domingo de Valtañas en Seville.

1559 FRANCISCO DE ALCOCER

Tratado del juego, Salamanca.

1561 RUY LOPEZ DE SEGURA

Libro de la invención liberal y arte del juego del Axedrez. En Alcalá en casa de Andrés de Angulo.

1580 ALFONSO CERON

De Ludo Latrunculorum. (According to Nicolás Antonio, Cerón wrote a book on chess that was never published.)

1599 ADRIAN DE CASTRO

Libro de los daños que resultan del juego, Granada, Sebastián de Mena.

1603 FRANCISCO LUQUE FAXARDO

Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos. Vtillísimo, a los confesores, y penitentes, justicias, y los demás, a cuyo cargo está a limpiar de Vagabüdos, tahúres, y fulleros la República Christiana. En diálogo. Madrid.

1605 ALONSO DE LEDESMA BUITRAGO

Enmienda de la vida pasada, Juegos de Nochebuena á lo divino, Barcelona.

1606 FRAY DIEGO DE ARCE.

Miscelánea, Murcia.

1612 Juegos de Nochebuena moralizados á la vida de Cristo, martirios de Santos y reformation de costumbres, con unos enigmas hechos para

honesta recreación, Madrid. (Probablemente también en Barcelona, 1611).

1613 GASPAR DE LOS REYES

Tesoro de Concretos divinos compuestos en todo género de verso por el P. Fray-, Sevilla.

1614 PEDRO DE GUZMÁN.

Bienes de el honesto trabajo y daños de la ociosidad, en ocho discursos (.....), Madrid.

1614 FRANCISCO NÚÑEZ DE VELASCO.

Diálogos de contención entre la milicia y la Ciencia (....), Valladolid.

1614 ALONSO DE BONILLA.

Peregrinos pensamientos de misterios divinos, Baeza.

1621 FRAY JUAN DE LAS RUELAS

Hermosura corporal de la madre de Dios.

1623 ALONSO REMON

Entrenimientos y juegos honestos y recreaciones christianas (.....), Madrid.

1624 RODRIGO CARO

Días geniales o lúdicos, Manuscript. Edition of Jean-Pierre Etienne, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid 1978. 2 Volumes.

1625 PEDRO PANTOJA DE AYALA

Commentaria in Titulum de Aleatoribus, Digestis et Codice, seu de Ludorum universa antiquitate, Madrid. (Manuscript 84-I-17 Biblioteca Colombina - Sevilla).

1627 GONZALO CORREAS.

Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales. Texte établi, annoté et présenté par Louis Combet. Institut d'Études Iberiques et Ibero-Americaines de l'Université de Bordeaux, 1967.

1640 UNKNOWN AUTHOR

Reglas y leyes que se han de observar en los juegos del rebesino, mallilla y cientos de un.

1644 NAVARETTE Y RIBEIRA, FRANCISCO DE

La casa del juego, Madrid, Gregorio Rodriquez.

1657 ANONYM AUTHOR

Avisos de Barrionuevo.

1669 ORNOLDO FRANCO-FURT

Leyes, y constituciones del juego del hombre o Espadilla (...), Zaragoza.

We observe that in Spain literature reflects not only the popularity of its games, but also many Catholic dogmas. The influence of the church is also felt in the Italian chess work of Tommaso Actius (1584), a book published in Pesaro by Dr. Chicco¹²⁶.

¹²⁶ CHICCO, ADRIANO & ROSINO, ANTONIO (1990) Storio degli Scacchi in Italia, Venezia, pp. 20-21

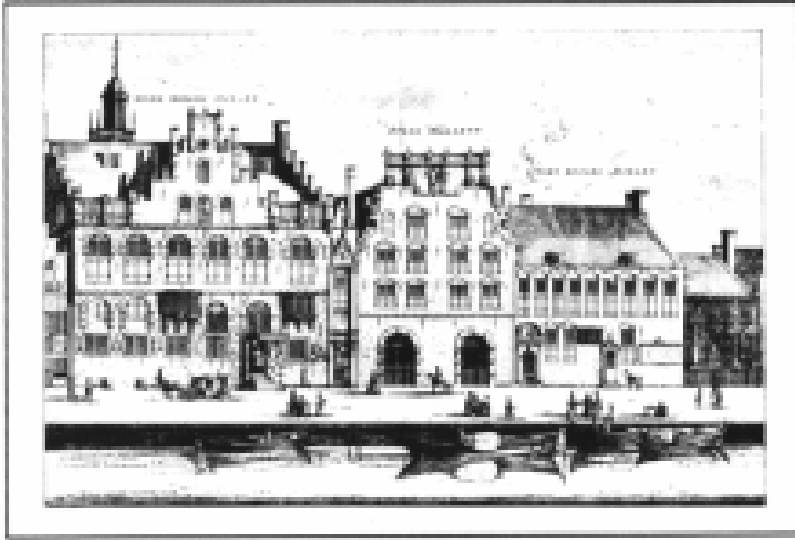
LIBRARIES WITH DRAUGHTS COLLECTIONS

Universiteitsbibliotheek Singel, 425 1042 WP Amsterdam Holland	Koninklijke Bibliotheek Prins Willem Alexanderhof, 5 2595 BE-s'Gravenhage Holland
Stads- of Athenaeum bibliotheek Klooster, 12 Postbus 351 7400 AJ Deventer Holland	Cleveland Public Library John G. White department 325, Superior Avenue Cleveland - Ohio 44144-1271 Verenigde Staten
Provinciale Bibliotheek van Friesland P.O. Box 464 Boterhoek, 1 8901 BG Leeuwarden Holland	

LIBRARIES WITH SOME LITERATURE ON THE GAME OF DRAUGHTS

<p>Biblioteca Nacional Paseo de Calvo Sotelo, 20 Madrid-1 - Spain</p> <p>Bodleian Library Oxford OX1 3BG Engeland40126</p> <p>Providence Public Library Special Collection Librarian 225 Washington Street Providence, Rhode Island 02903 Verenigde Staten</p> <p>Bibliothèque Nationale de France 1 Place Valhubert 75013 Paris France</p>	<p>Biblioteca del Palacio Real Plaza de Oriente Madrid - Spain</p> <p>Biblioteca Universitaria Via Zamboni, 35 Bologna Bologna - Italia</p> <p>British (Museum) Library 96 Euston Rd., London NW1 2DB Engeland</p>
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PHILIP DE SCHAAP



The complex of the University Library in 1663

When we talk about collectors of draughts books we cannot forget people like Philip de Schaap, Knight's Cross of the Oranje-Nassau Order. Most draughts books end up in the trash can over time. That is why it is important to have people like Philip de Schaap, who have made a bold effort to preserve our culture.

He wrote 5 draughts books and knew how to interact with many people abroad due to his great knowledge of languages. This allowed him to assemble a large draughts collection of old and new materials of draughts, such as books, brochures, magazines, club magazines, propaganda material, draughts articles, regulations, jubilee editions, photographs, training materials, etc., which are nowadays in the University Library of amsterdam.



Philip de Schaap

Thanks to the work of Philip de Schaap we were able to obtain a copy of the important work of Juan de Timoneda. A few years ago Philip de Schaap retired from his turbulent collecting life and printed his catalog of the draughts collection of the University Library¹²⁷ (de Schaap, 1990). Thanks to it we continue to enjoy all his work, because this catalog continues to be, of course, an indispensable reference for scholars and collectors.

¹²⁷ SCHAAP, Philip de (1990) *Dammen. Catalogus van de Damcollectie in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam* bijeengebracht door Philip de Schaap. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam

Imagination is more important
than knowledge
Albert Einstein

15. DISCUSSION

HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON CHECKERS AND THE CONCEPT OF THE GAME OF CHECKERS

Therefore we can conclude that the research on the original game of checkers is now presented with an amazing sharpness. What was thought impossible a few years ago, now has various historians updating it. While it does not reach a clear definition of which games fit into the concept of primitive games of checkers, any hypothesis makes no sense. According to some modern historians even the Romans played checkers. For this reason it is better not to make any assumptions in this book, because as far as Spain is concerned, we are still in the initial phase. Each hypothesis draws a series of counterarguments to which one must look for evidence to continue defending it. And all this without an accurate determination of the concept of what precisely is the primitive game of checkers. In short, a waste of time and it is better to stay out of this war turmoil. However, it is interesting to discuss various issues, so that other researchers and interested checkers players get interested in the historical research of this game.

To research the history of checkers one does not need to be an expert. One can study the topic with no need for a scientific approach. One can form an idea without presenting material evidence. After all, we are talking about a hobby and how important it is that we gradually get historical data about checkers. While studying the history of checkers it is important to have a clear idea of establishing a relationship between the various data and a deductive ability for us to draw conclusions as general arguments.



Prof. Dr. Albert Szent-Györgi

The discoverer of Vitamin C and Vitamin P (bioflavonoids) structure, the Hungarian *Prof. Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi* told us in a simple way:

**Research is to see what others have already seen
and think what nobody has thought.**

His discovery of Vitamin P in 1937 earned him the Nobel Prize for Medicine and Physiology. Therefore he knew what he was talking about!

THE GAME OF CHECKERS

Van der Stoep always describes the game of checker(s) as described in England in 1426. According to him it could be a game of checkers. (Stoep 1994b:91; Stoep 1984:143)

21519 And, for to makē lordys cher/Bothe at ches and the cheker,/The drawthes ther-off, ful wel Y kan,/Ye bet than any other man (...) At the merellys, best off alle (Lydgate 1426; Stoep 1994a:64)

("Gladness of the world" has the word; she says: "And, to amuse the gentlemen, I know chess moves just like checkers, even more than others. Alquerque of 9 is the best ever").

Lydgate refers as "checkers" to a game that is not alquerque of 3 and where the pieces move just like in chess. Therefore I translate "at the cheker" as checkers, or a game on a board of squares. All this according to Van der Stoep.



If one could provide more evidence, it would be useful to corroborate the hypothesis. The word **checker** was used to indicate the use of a board with squares. If we look at the drawing, we see a board on which you can play with pieces.

Picture of the "Queen Mary's Psalter" of the fourteenth century

In one of the following pages you can also see a board with squares, as was used in France in 1510 and probably also in England. But is this related to the game of checkers? How did *Van der Stoep* come up with the checker board? Could you crown a piece in the game? How can we capture pieces in this game? A similar game was also found in Spain in the eighteenth century, even before (Carreras, 1934).



The Alquerque of *Covarrubias* (1611) is different from the old alquerque. I mean, who can credibly affirm that the old game of "checker" is the same as the current game?

Spanish Game, eighteenth century

We did a complete study on Andarraya to determine that this probably used to be the precursor of checkers on a striped board. What information, chronologically speaking, do we have about checker? Is it not very strange that it was already being played on a chessboard in England in 1426 and that this probably arose around 1500 in Spain?

Branch (1911, November 19) says:

The American word **checkers** now refers to draughts only, but originally, or sometimes, meant either of the games played on the checkered board. Older terms, used in England before draughts was known, included **checkere** and **eschekkere**.

1507 JEU DES DAMES

According to *Van der Stoep* (1994b:109) and *Kruijswijk* (1966:73) this refers to checkers. The French text says: (Amerval 1923)

Je ne dit pas, quant on s'esbat
Joyeusement, sans nul debat
A quelque beau jeu gracieux,
Qui de soy n'est pas vicieux
Comme au jeu d'echecz ou des dames,
Qui sont beaulx jeux, non pas infames,
Et jeux sans sort, cela s'entent,
Que Dieu en soit fort malcontent.

Van der Stoep then continues with the following observations:

The time factor is not exactly in favour of a development Fr. Dame = chess queen (JEU DE) DAMES = checkers. The author says he started his work *Livre de deablerie* in 1496. His work was published in 1508. Eloy certainly had tuned his moralizing to a large audience. For this public it was enough to the priest to merely refer to chess and checkers, which around 1500 were generally known games. Considering the period when the priest began writing, checkers was already known in 1490-1500. In the same period the reformed chess spread in France with its spectacular 'dame', called queen. The French name **Jeu de dames** must therefore be older than the French word Dame = *Chess queen*. In other words **jeu de dames** does not mean game with queens. In other words the French term (Jeu de) dames and board games Fr. Dame = *Chess queen* are homonyms.

It may be that this game was actually a game of checkers, but more evidence is needed to verify that. We can also think about a new chess game which was played with **dames** and could be called **des dames** (Anoniem, 1634). (Bakker 1980-1983, number 55) or a game played

with pawns and round pieces. Mehl, regarding the historical research of checkers lets us know: *La piège historiographique a donc parfaitement fonctionné. Se copiant les uns les autres, les auteurs, mus par le désir secret de situer la date de naissance du jeu de dames dans une époque reculée, en ont fait un jeu médiéval, faisant si des lacunes de la documentation. Comment expliquer de telles erreurs?* (Mehl, 1990:146)

If **des dames** could refer to pieces on the board, then the question left is what board game this was. In the sixteenth century **Jeu de dames** meant round pieces game (in France) without clarifying anything about the game. Therefore it was used as a generic name for board games.



Couple playing
checkers? (France
1510)

It is therefore possible that it refers to a board with squares and round pieces (dames), as in the picture on this page, which *Van der Stoep* (1993b, number 33.21) considers to reflect a couple playing

checkers. But what does this really have to do with checkers? Perhaps in those days **dames** were used as round pieces for the ancient game alquerque of 12. If the concept of **dame** as queen in chess and **andarraya** was picked as new in a Spanish Dictionary in 1495, you

can also expect something similar to jeu des dames - which was generally known from 1490 to 1500 - could be found in a French dictionary.

On the other hand, if checkers was commonly known in France around 1500, then it should not be that difficult to find more documentary evidence of this period. For this possibility we could use the fact that checkers, according to *Van der Stoep*, was older than the birth of the new queen or **dame** in chess. But if such evidence is not found and the second reference of checkers in France dates from 1535, can you then consider checkers as something that spread in 1500? *Mehl* (*Mehl*, 1990:146) sees it clearly in a different way: *Même si le jeu de dames a existé, il n'a connu aucune popularité avant le XVIe siècle*. Checkers is not mentioned either in the report of a pilgrim's travel of c. 1490 on board a ship from Venice to the holy country (*Faber*, 1843:130, 134, 166, 365); card games are mentioned, same as chess, dice games and boards (katherienen).

Van der Stoep has done an impressive study on the word **dame**. Therefore we hope to know more in future about the real meaning of **dame**.

JEU DE DAMES

According to *Van der Stoep* (1984:73) **Jeu de dames** is, a game with uniform pieces, in French. This argument comes from the chess historian *Antonius van der Linde* (1874:393). *Van der Stoep* (1994b:102) also translates the name of the round piece of checkers (or pawn) in Spain as **dame-** before 1591, but today we know with certainty that this idea is not possible. Before 1495 the word **dame-** was never used in Spain to refer to the (not crowned) piece of the board. This will only be possible when one promotes the pawn to **dame-** on a chessboard. The reasons behind why I cannot agree with *Van der Stoep's* point of view follow:

1. *Juan de Timoneda's* book, which I believe dates from around 1550, describes the draughts pieces, pawn, and dama respectively to refer to pawn and a crowned pawn.
2. If what *Van der Stoep* said was true, then we would have the following and illogical situation in Spain:

1283 Alfonso the Wise	alquerque with a figure that looks like a pawn (Name: trebeio)
1495	checkers with (24) dames in the sense of pieces to the game
1591 = 1550	checkers game with a figure which again looks like a pawn (name: peon)
c. 1700-1900	Again (round) dames in other board games. (In checkers the term peón remains).

Already in 1530 one referred to checkers with the Latin expression **ludamus ad dominas**. This, according to *Maturinus Corderius*, was a mistake and should be expressed in Latin as: **ludamus calculi**, from which we understand that around this time the word **dame** was already used in France as a piece in board games. Ordinary people, however, preferred to use the Latin: **ludamus ad dominas**. There were (powerful) dames in checkers and so the students thought it more logical to translate checkers this way in Latin. In Spain and probably Holland two types of games of checkers were used. One on the chessboard with the (powerful) dame and another game where one set of lines was used on a checkered board. This game of stripes - and we think it is the ancient game of alquerque - gave origin to the term calculi, and from the queen (powerful dame) on the chessboard probably derived the new term **dama** for the draughtsgame. Presumably this was the cause of the erroneous popular use of this Latin term *domina* in the sense of the powerful woman and at the same time the term **jeu de dames** was still being used in France in the sense of **Ludamus calculi**. In Spain the crowned piece has always been called dama and there is no reason to doubt the explicit mention of a powerful female part. We also see in *Kiliaan* (1588) with the game

Dominarum Difficilis (1590) and then with *Daniël de Souter* (1617) and *Claudius Salmasius* (1620) that the female term remains **domina**. This is in my opinion the reason why the Spanish expression **Juego de las damas** could not have come from the French, but was independently formed in Spain. “Las damas” included in *Juego de las damas* means a boardgame, in which promoted pawns (damas) were transformed in **damas** in Spain.

If the Latin term **domina** was commonly used for checkers, then the correct translation to Spanish is dama. Ludamus dominas would then be *we play with damas*. (The game with damas or crowned pieces).

BLOWING

Sebastián de Covarrubias says by mentioning the word **alquerque** that in this game one should capture, and if one does not, then one would lose the game for *blow*. In Spanish checkers already using the chessboard capturing was mandatory and blowing was probably not legal, because otherwise the problems, as included in Timoneda's book in c. 1550, would be meaningless, thereby losing the way to combine and the beauty of the moves to form shots or combinations in the game.

If, for example, the whites wish to sacrifice three pawns to capture three enemy pawns in order to promote, blacks would accept to capture two black pawns and refuse to capture the third, then the whites could only blow a single enemy pawn, thus would have lost a pawn unnecessarily. Therefore in the Spanish game **Marro de punta** capturing was mandatory under penalty of losing the game. (Stoep 1991, Number 63:6; Timoneda 1635a).



Sebastián de Covarrubias

Through *Covarrubias* we see that alquerque was the same game on a board of stripes, just like the old alquerque, whose name is no longer used. In this game you were allowed to blow. Blowing was already allowed in France, where it was played under the name **forcé Y forçat**. But here it requires more research, because in France **forçé** was also some kind of a card game (Parlett, 1991:80).

ALQUERQUE

Most historians clearly perceive alquerque as having to be related to the birth of checkers. *Van der Stoep* even determines that alquerque of *Alfonso X The Wise* was a game of checkers. Nevertheless, in the book *Alfonso de Wijze* kings -ladies- are not found in this game and apparently one can move in all directions. If there was crowning, then

the king *Alfonso* would certainly have pointed it out. It is therefore only acceptable to consider this type of alquerque game as a **precursor of checkers**.

Van der Stoep (1993, number 30:3-4) wrote:

The Draughts is exactly the same medieval Alquerque game – both of them knew the coronation - , transferred from a board with perpendicular stripes to another with sloped lines. Defenders: J. Brunet y Bellet (1891:205), and Arie van der Stoep (1984:143).



José Brunet y Bellet

The Spaniard *J. Brunet y Bellet* was the first historian to consider the possibility that the old Alquerque game transferred to a chessboard could have been the same Spanish Draughts game. However, he did not say anything about coronation over the eighth row. So we're open to doubting the fact that *Brunet y Bellet* actually proposed the coronation in the Alquerque game.

At present there is no clear definitive consensus among Draughts historians about which games can be called real Draughts - a fact that makes researching and setting of a final hypothesis enormously difficult. *Bakker* (1992, number 3:64-69) counterargues *Van der Stoep*:

This means that if the use of a board is not the only required characteristic, but also the possibility of coronation to determine the first Draughts game, then not only can the medieval Alquerque of twelve be retroactively considered as an actual Draughts game, but also the antique Greco-Roman board game.

This is a big risk to take when trying to perform proper research about Draughts. It is impossible to start from a clear point. According to *Bakker* a boardless game cannot be called Draughts. This becomes a highly risky argument, as the older Andarraya game – later in the case of *Covarrubias* named Alquerque (*Covarrubias* 1611/1987) – could not be considered as the first Draughts game. But is this really true? Can finding a connection between the old British and French checkers game with the short and weak pieces, which will probably clarify the nature of the Andarraya game, and also the Alquerque game that *Covarrubias* described be justified? On the other hand I agree with *Bakker* that if we classify each game as a Draughts game, we will never solve this point. We only need to study the book written by *Van der Stoep* and *Rob Jansen*'s article (1992, number 23:19) to critically determine that even Romans played Draughts (*Stoep*, 1994b:110). So can this be considered as a very precise research of the Draughts history? Even *Limbrey* (1913:12) assertively stated: ***“But while it is true that games of a Draughts-like nature, and properly described as Draughts in a broad sense, did precede Chess, it would be wrong to conclude that Draughts as now known in Europe is an older game than chess (....)”***.

But isn't the etymologic research worthy? Naturally yes, it's highly worthy indeed. This comes from the fact that the linguistic research of *Van der Stoep* can effectively support the documented info. It can be seen this way: **His argument about the Alquerque being the same as Draughts becomes true if we revise the *Covarrubias*'s**

(1611/1987) Alquerque texts. *Van der Stoep* (1991, number 63:6) claims that in the *Covarrubias* text a Draughts-like game was played over 64 squares. Through documental sources I deduce that it is the old Andarraya game played over a striped board. Both games have close resemblance to Draught-like games. The linguistic research helps the investigator to choose the right path. With reference to the development of the new powerful pieces Bakker's hypothesis (1983, number 2:44; 1987, number 2:42-46) is efficient. In my opinion the new powerful Draughts was born in Spain, both in chess and checkers. Another point is whether the first Draughts (with another name) could have originated from Spain in the 16th century, as Bakker says. With the discovery of the Andarraya game everything indicates that we must advance the period by several decades and that the first Draughts was played on a board of squares with stripes. I agree with Bakker that Spain is the country where the first Draughts-like game was created (with different board and name), however further research is needed.

THE GAME OF DRAUGHTS

According to *Kruijswijk* (1966:51-56 y 69) and *Murray* (1952:73-75) Draughts is a cross between two board games, supposedly the alquerque and chess. Alquerque was a predecessor of draughts, but without coronation. The Draughts game originated in the south of France between the 10th and 11th centuries by assigning the coronation taken from chess to alquerque. Both historians use the chessboard to play draughts. A similar chess inspired argument, says Bakker (*Van der Stoep* 1993, number 30:3-4) and *Van der Stoep* (1993, number 30:3-4; number 31:8), classifies the old Alquerque game from king *Alfonso de Wise* as a Draughts game.

As we know today, everything indicates that this argument is not correct and the first Draughts was played on a striped board. A similar game could have been played around 1454 in Spain or after 1500 in England or France. At present we are still at the first stage of

researching, and many other investigations need to be done to obtain a better picture of the first Spanish Draughts in the 15th century.

Van der Stoep (1991, number 63:6) and Pratesi (1991, number 4:85) surely have had reason when they suspected that the predecessors of Draughts used other names for it. So in Spain, beside the Draughts (Damas) term, we also have **Andarraya, Alquerque, Marro, and Marro de Punta**. In Sicily, which belonged to the Aragón reign, the term Marella was used for centuries, and there is a high probability that it was a Draughts-like game similar to the Andarrayas later played on a chessboard.

But I admit that more evidence is needed. In England we have **Checkers** and **Draughts**. Draughts originally means **draw**, probably referring to the act of drawing lines on a board. In England the Draughts and Checkers terms were still used after including the new French term “**jeu de damas**”. Why didn’t the British copy the name of the game as did the Dutch from the French, and are still using an old name from the 15th century? (Van der Stoep, 1984:143; Van der Stoep 1993, number 32:53).

DEFINITION OF THE DRAUGHTS GAME

Then it is valid to pose this question: What is Draughts? That’s the most relevant point. In spite of it historians do well in taking this point seriously, otherwise - as has been pointed out before – even the Romans would have played Draughts. Draughts have probably gone through centuries of development, and the Alquerque game could be considered a predecessor of it. The Alquerque of Twelve from king Alfonso X the Wise (1283) maybe dates back near to the Roman Empire, but to consider this as a Draughts game exceeds my thrust limits.

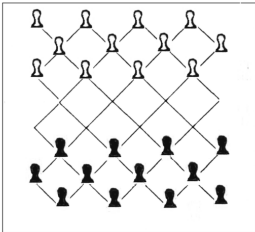
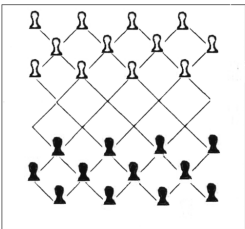
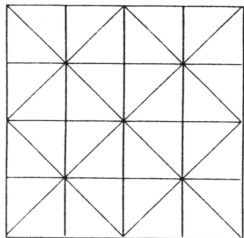
The same difficulty was found by Mehl (1990:147):

En fait, tout débat reste vain tant que n'est pas précisé ce que recouvre l'expression jeu de dames. C'est un jeu de guerre, jeu à information complète, avec capture, et dans lequel le combat qui oppose les jetons de deux camps se déroule sur un échiquier régulièrement quadrillé.

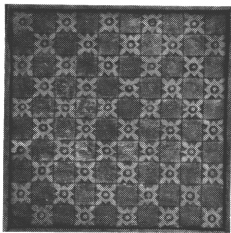
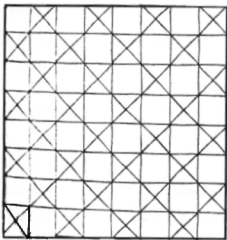
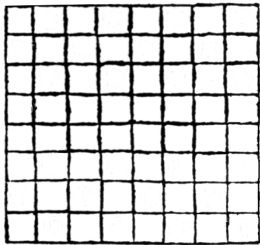
The first creation of a definition can be found in the next ideas:

1. Existence of the coronation of Men into a King (Dame) in the game. **(Ir. Gerard Bakker)**
2. There are at least two row spaces on the board between the two initial rows. **(Rob Jansen)**
3. The amount of squares or intersection points in the game is even. **(Rob Jansen)**
4. The Men or Pieces (not the King/Dame) are captured by jumping over them, only forwards, over the enemy's Men, stepping just behind the last Man captured.
5. The Men or Pieces have a unique movement chance per turn, which can be diagonal or orthogonal, but they can never move backwards.

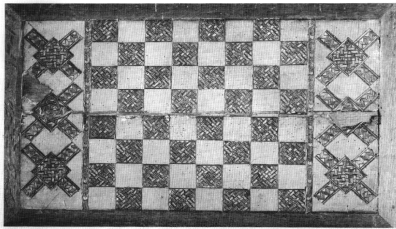
PROBABLE DEVELOPMENT OF CHECKERS.



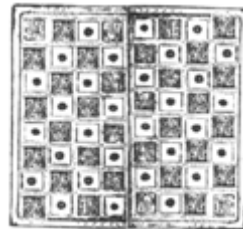
Alquerque Board	Andarraya Board Diagonal direction Striped board squared	TheTermAndarraya turns into Alquerque 1517? Philippine checkerboard c. 1600? of Marro de Punta?
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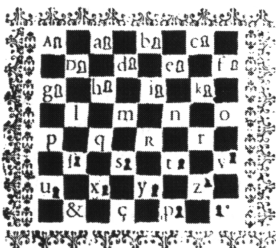
Castro Board 1519? Turkish Checkerboard Game with towers? (Striped board with squares)	Alquerque board with Covarrubias 1611? Game of hawaiian checkers German game of Checkers 1700	Frisian game of checkers 1726. Diagonal direction with help of circles
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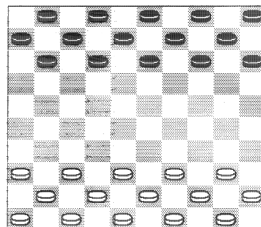
**Checkerboard of Jan van Leiden
from c. 1530? Diagonal direction
with help of circles
in black squares. The crosses
also have a direction**



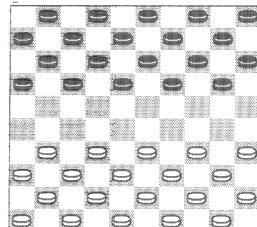
**Checkerboard,
from Vienna, XVI century
diagonal with
circles in
white squares.**



**Spanish board
of checkers 1550?**



**Big checkerboard
With 15 pieces
Souter, Leiden 1617**

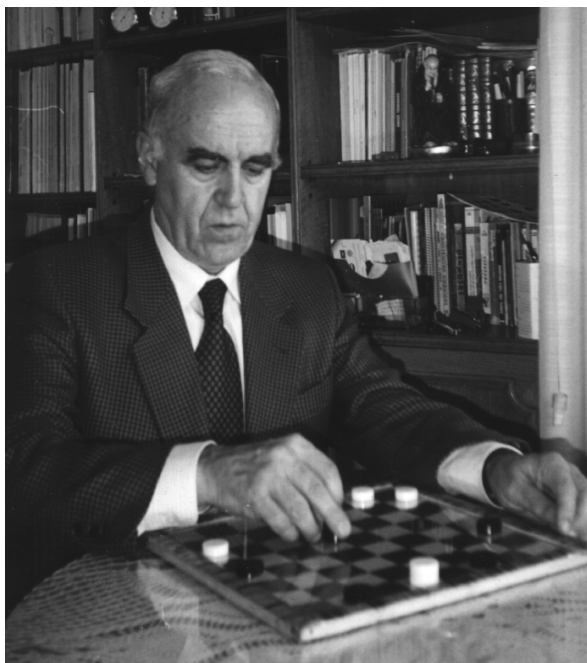


**Current checkers board
with 20 pieces.
International game**

Arguments can be valid without being true.
Anonymous

15. THE DRAUGHTS BIBLIOPHILE

The checkers bibliophile Victor Cantalapiedra Martín



Victor Cantalapiedra Martín

The checkers bibliophile Don Victor Cantalapiedra Martín from Valladolid, a great player well known for his knowledge of old books about checkers, declared himself willing to share his vision of the history of Spanish checkers literature in a separate chapter.

Given the great enthusiasm and pride that this player has in the game of Spanish checkers we accepted his desire to leave his texts intact

without hesitation. This is to avoid them being interpreted differently from their original form.

After this brief introduction we pass the word to this important bibliophile of Spanish checkers:

Before giving way to this literature review I want to put a thought of the great master of Almeirin (Portugal), Francisco Henriques on its frontispiece as clear homage to his talent, his knowledge of the checkers culture, and the many virtues that marked his life:



"Checkers is like a completely covered, eternal, and mysterious Sphinx which from time to time will allow specific Spanish checkers players, its countrymen, to lift a corner of its veil and see some of the charms it treasures, but without revealing its secret entirely."

Francisco Henriques (Portugal)

SPANISH BOOKS ABOUT CHECKERS WRITTEN BEFORE 1992

1. 1547 ANTONIO DE TORQUEMADA.

**El Ingenio, ó juego de Marro, de punta ó Damas.
Valencia, en 4º.**

Despite this being the book that is put first in the bibliographies of Spain and the world about checkers we are now very close to ensuring

that it was not the first one and there are other previous ones, although it is true that they are still vague to describe unswervingly and irrefutably. For this reason we continue to give primacy to the famous *Ingenio of Torquemada* but hang on him this threat we just formulated.

We will start by regretting that there has been no copy located at present. However, we have reliable news of its existence, as evidenced by the accredited editor and historian Nicolas Antonio in his *Biblioteca Hispana* from the seventeenth century, which clearly details the author's name, full title of the work, date of publishing, place of printing, and book format. Such numerous and accurate data cannot be given without the work having been seen.

Moreover, the book title is very realistic, corresponding and fully fitting to the name and denominations that the game had taken in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as has been pertinently demonstrated in this book by the tireless researcher Dr. Govert Westerveld.

El. Dr. Cárceles assumes that copies existed in the old library of Valencia and that when it burned, many other works of inestimable value were also burnt. Today we bring two more data: the date of the fire, January 7 1812 and the number of the file of the copy being 334904 (in Palau and Dulcet, 1971:319).

The biographical data that we have about the author are not very accurate. We know that he was born between 1505-1510 in Astorga (León) or its vicinity.

He studied humanities in Salamanca without obtaining an academic degree. He traveled to Spain, Italy, and Sardinia until he finally settled in Benavente (Zamora) adjacent to Leon and Valladolid, where he served as secretary of Don Antonio Alfonso de Pimentel, Count of Benavente, the post of which he maintained until death.

Besides the book in question he wrote other books in his spare time, such as: *Manual de Escribientes*, *Historia del invencible caballero D. Olivante de Laura*, *Coloquios Satíricos*, and *Jardín de flores curiosas*. Therefore he occupies a prominent place in the history of Spanish Literature. See other pages of this book for a detailed study.

2. 1475-1525 ANÓNIMO.

(El Ingenio) del folio 24 del libro de Pedro Ruiz Montero.

In a passage of the book that we describe in No. 5 the author states: *"another one that ends in a draw, although it is in the book printed in the past in Valencia, and it puts a winning, and what I discovered to be a draw without any solution, so that I would make it understandable here."*

By carefully reading this text two terms stand out over the rest: *Valencia* and *in the past*, together with the theme or concept underlying in the technical rectification made on the enigmatic book.

We will consider these three elements as three premises with which we will speculate to frame within them the possible book we seek.

The book, being printed in Valencia, is a really precise datum, but not very relevant if we consider that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Valencia was the most active printing town and therefore the one that printed the most books.

If we take the words "in the past" literally, we could be facing an incunabula which could even date back to the famous chess writer Francesc Vicent.

On the theme or concept it rectifies we conclude that this could be a study book, which at this point revolved around the always difficult technical process of "*saque de peón*" (taking out the pawn).

Taking into account the books we know we see that:

Torquemada is ruled out for not meeting the second premise, as 44 years old is not old enough.

The possible first edition of Timoneda is also excluded for not meeting the third premise since we know the book and the book does not deal with the possible first draughts book.

El Valle is the only one left to consider, the first two premises being possible and the third premise certain if we take into account what Alonso Guerra tells us about the rectification he makes.

We are facing a very dark mysterious book, and it is clear that it has been over 400 years since the mysterious Sphinx allowed Pedro

Ruiz Montero to lift the veil of its secrets, although it gave him the message of not revealing them, which he so admirably and faithfully fulfilled, and nothing has been discovered about the mysterious book.

3. 1480-1560? VALLE.

It is the first time that this personage appears in the large Spanish bibliographic theater. The limited data we know about him make us cautious, and for that reason we have opened a wide fork of 80 years in time in order to put it in that period and avoid the risk of making any mistake as much as possible. See a study of this book on other pages of this book.

4. 1525-1553 ANÓNIMO DEL INVENTARIO DE JUAN DE JUNTA.

Juego de Damas.

In the Provincial Archives of Burgos we find the citation and reference of this book with such a generic title in the inventory made from the printing and Burgalese library belonging to the the businessman and publisher Juan de Junta on the occasion of the assignment or transfer of business to Alonso de Medina, all legalized by the notary Pedro de Espinosa according to Folio 708v Protocol 5540 dated February 15, 1553.

Four years later, on 24 February 1557, another inventory of funds of printing and library is made to pass the business to Juan Gomez de Valdivieso and again the same book appears under the protocol of attorney No. 5544, Folio 119V.

This is a rather small book, then valued at 25 maravedises and possibly edited in the printing of Italian and Florentine Juan de Junta, who had another print and bookstore in Salamanca and one in Lyon (France).

As we saw in the title of the book of Torquemada, the word "damas" (checkers or draughts) already surfaced in 1547 to describe the game.

In this book, which is from the same time and most likely edited in the same region, the title "Juego de damas" (checkers or draughts) appears without any other words, plain and simply.

All this makes us see that in Castile the name evolved faster than in Andalusia and Valencia where the term "damas" (checkers, draughts) took longer to prevail, as we shall see in the following books, certainly because of the wake of popular admiration that had left the first Lady of Castilla Queen Isabel the Catholic, exerting a psychological power much higher than other regions of the already unified Spain.

5. 1591 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO.

Libro del Juego de Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el marro, compuesto por Pedro Ruiz Montero natural de la ciudad de Cordova, y vezino de Lucena. Dirigido al muy illustre señor don Pedro de Castro. Con Privilegio. Impresso en Valencia en casa de Gabriel Ribes. Año 1591. En 4º, IV + 29 leaves = 66 pages.

Taking into account that so far there are no copies of any of the books described, this is physically the first and oldest of the books we can see.

It has been 44 years since the publication of Torquemada and this author is still in need of having to explain with the term "vulgarly named el marro" that this means "damas" (draughts) with the popular name by which it was known years ago.

Its author says that he printed his book in Valencia "because there and in its kingdom I saw and got along with the most skilled players when comparing them with other provinces or kingdoms".

The opening or games he introduces are called *Trechas* which always ends with remarkable shots. It shows us seven moves, including "*La Forzosa*" already well known, but warns "there are few players who can win this game" just like currently.

He is always known within the checkers world as "El Andaluz". Alonso Guerra, his contemporary, says that in his environment they always called him "El Marro" for his great love of checkers.

Throughout the book you can see an advanced technique of the game, which just confirms the many years he had already practiced on our peninsula.

Copies of this book are very rare. In Spain alone there is one in the National Library. The one that belonged to Dr. Cárceles followed this itinerary. From 1910 it belonged to Pedro Vindel, then to the Seville bibliophile Abaurre, then it returned to Madrid in the hands of Victoria Vindel, and after a good restoration in 1959 it went to Portugal to the library of Francisco Henriques and in stayed the neighbouring country, although in the hands of another checkers player. As stated before, there is one in the National Library of Madrid. I own a copy.

6. 1595 ALONSO GUERRA.

Libro para jugar a las damas, compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la Villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia.

There are no printed copies of this work that appeared for the first time in 1969 in Jornal de Almada in Portugal, but instead there is a manuscript copy from 1658 that I have. This book with no exact date has been dated to 1595 with a margin of error between Ruiz Montero and Valls, considering that the first author is cited and rectified several times, while the second is not mentioned. See No. 15.

7. 1597 LORENZO VALLS.

Libro del Juego de las Damas, por otro nombre el Marro de Punta, dividido en tres tratados. Impreso en Valencia en casa de Pedro Patricio. Año 1597. 4°. II + 53 folios 110 pages.

As it can be seen in the title, there is already a full transition from "marro" to "checkers" although the resistance to change can be observed and must be explained. Valls is more accurate than Ruiz Montero in this case and says "Marro de Punta" which is its real and technical name and is more accurate than just "marro" which denotes a more ambiguous game.

This author calls all games he introduces "Tretas". It is seen as a more advanced school, confirming Ruiz Montero's opinion that the most experienced players were from Valencia. The book is also more extensive.

He is known as "El Valenciano", he had a burning rivalry with "El Andaluz", and like him, he also had unconditional fans with laudatory sonnets included in his book.

The book is a rarity even superior to the one written by Ruiz Montero. In Spain it can only be found in the National Library in Madrid that belonged to the famous Arabist from the past century Pascual de Gayangos.

When Dr. Cárceles published his work in 1904, neither the one by Montero Ruiz, nor the one by Lorenzo Valls were already at the Palace Library; these were gone in a robbery that occurred there in 1902 along with other valuable books, venturing to suppose that the two books Hanes quotes that were vying in America years later could be the books of the Palace Library of Madrid.

In order that these last two paragraphs not be too desolate I will say that there are two magnificent specimens in the hands of a bibliophile acquaintance of mine, which I will not sell now. I have a copy just like Dr. Cárceles in 1904.

8. 1610 LIBRITO DE DAMAS

There is a reference to Richard Twiss in his book *Miscellanies 1895*. I agree with Dr. Cândido Sena Carneiro, the draughts bibliophile (Portugal) that it is likely that it could be the first edition of the eight moves of Antonio Mirón y del Castillo, republished in 1635 at the end of the book of Timoneda.

9. 1635 JUAN TIMONEDA

Libro llamado Ingenio, el qual trata del Juego de Marro de punta, hecho por Juan Timoneda, Dedicado al Mvy magnifico Senñor don Ynigo de Losca Capitan en las Galeras de España. Al qual se han annadido ocho trechas de mucha primor, por Antonio Miron y del Castillo, Tolosa. En casa de Juan Boude, impresor ordinario de su Majestat. En 4º menor 72 pages.

It was released by Dr. Cárceles in his book of 1904. There is no other copy than the one that belonged to the aforementioned Dr. The book was very damaged when it was bought by the antiquarian bookseller Pedro Vindel in 1910. The texts of the book were affected on the last pages, which Vindel retouched with his own pen and ink, but since he was not a checkers player, he made mistakes in some moves, as could be seen later. In 1913 the book was acquired by D. Pedro Sanchez Toca, Marquess of Somio, and remained in his library for fifty years. It changed owners twice in a year, making two major geographical jumps, and in 1966 it was photocopied for the first and only time. However, this was enough to see more copies throughout the world.

The work offers the particularity of representing each of his moves in a diagram. It currently has 48 games, whereas it originally had 53 according to Dr. Cárceles. I wonder when the other 5 were lost. If the work had always been in careful hands since it was acquired by Dr. Cárceles, it is hard to tell. The keen observer will have noticed that in this attractive and suggestive book there is a mysterious component in the date, title, author, printing, exhibition etc. since strange circumstances happened around it. Dr. Govert Westerveld talks about it all on other pages of this book.

10. 1635 ANTONIO MIRON DEL CASTILLO.

“al cual se han añadido ocho trechas de mucho primor, por Antonio Mirón del Castillo”

At the end of the book of Timoneda we observe: "to which eight Trechas of much delicacy were added by Antonio Miron del Castillo". We observe the same on the cover of the book. The eight *Trechas* indicated are only eight games or problems, also with diagrams, like all the other ones in the book by Timoneda. However it was not the first time people put in press this book. The actual book states: "*agora nuevamente sacadas a luz*" ("now again brought to light"), so it is clear that it had been previously published. We have assumed that it could have been in 1610 as indicated. Unfortunately there are only two of the eight diagrams of Antonio Miron del Castillo in the book.

11. 1650 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS

Libro del Juego de las Damas, dividido en tres tratados. El primero es de peones, donde se contienen 80. juegos, ò salidas con muchas diferencias. El segundo es para jugar de Dama a Dama, con 100. juegos, ò salidas, poniendo su Dama el contrario en diferentes partes. El tercero es para jugar de dos à dos Damas con 30. juegos, ò salidas, y muchos lances sueltos para dar à escoger, y otras curiosidades. Compuesto por Juan Garcia Canalejas, vezino de la ciudad de Granada. Dirigido a don Juan Baptista Pertusa, cavallero del habito de nuestra Señora de Montesa de la ciudad de Valencia. Con licencia. En Çaragoça, por Juan Nogues, año 1650 a costa de su Autor. 8 h + 144 = 160 pages.

The presentation and discussion of this book is already significantly better than of those that preceded it, having removed the literary dressing that stained the numbers of the plays, thus facilitating the study.

In my library there are two books of the same date in 1650 with different typefaces both on the cover as bullets and ornaments. To distinguish them I call the first edition the one bearing the word ÇARAGOÇA with "cedillas" (the letter ç) and the second edition the one carrying the usual letter z ZARAGOÇA. There is another noticeable difference in the dedication not only in the capital letter motif, which is much larger in the second edition, but in the text itself

that is completely different, even mentioning different characters. The technique part has smaller font in the second edition, thus having larger spaces between lines. The two editions from 1650 are in the National Library. There is also a BP (Biblioteca de Palacio) bound together in a book of Garcez.

12. 1654 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS
Libro del Juego de las Damas, Barcelona.

In my opinion this edition never existed and it is most likely that the second edition or reissue, indicated in the previous issue, was made in 1654 or 1650.

13. 1656 JUAN GARCIA CANALEJAS
Libro del Juego de las Damas, Barcelona.

Francisco Vindel in his *Manual Gráfico-Descriptivo del Bibliófilo Hispano-Americano, Madrid 1930-1934* in volume IV, on p. 25 shows a reproduction of the cover of the first edition from 1650 (that of the cedillas) on a natural scale and on p. 27 another identical cover in reduced size dated from 1656.

I have often compared these covers even with my books, coming to the conclusion that the date is wrong, since it is simple to mistake a 6 for a 0, so for me it is no longer an apocryphal edition, but a ghost edition.

Now the one dated 1656, edited in Barcelona, is more plausible and although it is very rare and I have never seen any copies, there is some reference to its existence.

14. 1658 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO/DIEGO DE ARGOMEDO.
Libro del juego de las Damas, vulgarmente nombrado el Marro. Compuesto por Pedro Ruiz Montero natural de Cordova, y vezino de Lucena. Ahora nuevamente reducido. En este, quanto

nuevo, muy facil, y curioso estilo por el Licenciado Don Diego de Argomedo Presbytero, Vezino de la muy noble y muy leal Ciudad de Jerez de la Frontera, y natural della. En este año de 1659.

The copyist and reductor Diego de Argomedo faithfully transcribes in his style the book *El Andaluz* on 35 pages. This and the following book are bound together and in the order in which they are placed. For that reason it seems that there is an error in the date - they are either both from 1658 or from 1959. I believe that it's the first date, otherwise it is difficult to understand the words "in this mentioned year of 1658" that appear after the title of Alonso Guerra.

15. 1658 ALONSO GUERRA/DIEGO DE ARGOMEDO.

Libro para jugar a las damas. Compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Guerra, natural de la villa de Ossuna, en el Andaluzia. Reduzido assimismo en este mesmo estilo por el dicho Licenciado Don Diego de Argomedo. En este dicho año de 1658.

In view of the man of letters Argomedo who appears to be in the copy of the book of Ruiz Montero we think that it is the same in this book. Therefore what we say here is valid for No. 6.

The author divides the work into four parts or treatises. In the first one he writes 12 ruses to play at first with the pawns. In the second one he writes 15 ruses to play with the pawns afterwards. From page 68 to 86 he states "Lance que llaman de sacar el Peón" (several movements to take out the pawn of the corner) and says that it is not only difficult, but impossible. He corrects several positions from *El Andaluz* a few times to take out the pawn and other times not to take out the pawn with some interesting original positions. The third treatise teaches to play from crowned piece to crowned piece. The fourth treaty teaches to play afterwards by the second player from crowned piece to crowned piece.

"Then many other very curious movements follow besides those that I have written and are contained in this work, when the games have only a few pieces left." In total he wrote 34 set sof

movements from page 133 to 148. As a curiosity I will say that nine sets of movements by Alonso Guerra also appear in Timoneda. Who copied who?

16. 1684 JOSEPH CARLOS GARCEZ Y DE LA SIERRA BOIL DE ARENOS.

Libro nuevo, Juego de damas - Madrid. En 4° XX + 224 = 244 pages.

This author presents a better and more complete exposition than the books that preceded him, having introduced marginal explanatory notes on the first twenty pages.

He reveals great cultural knowledge because of his status as a licentiate and priest. He also had other artistic interests with some poetic publications.

The technical part is very interesting, adding games and original sets of movements, although in the line of the book by Garcia Canalejas.

This book surpasses the one by Garcia Canalejas in rarity, the copies being very scarce. There are some in the National Library (BN), Palace Library (BP), and my library. Dr. Cárceles thinks that there is more than one edition.

17. 1690? EL CANÓNIGO.

Libro de Juego de Damas. En el que se ponen las mas firmes salidas assi de mano como de postre; muchos lances sueltos de peones, y algunos de Gana Pierde, Compuesto por un Canónigo del Sacro Monte de la Ciudad de Granada, en conferencias, que tuvo, con los mejores jugadores de España cuyos nombres se expresan. En 4°. Manuscrito de 352 pages.

At first he copied the books of Ruiz Montero and Valls which he completed and rectified, very well and accurately. Then he had a very original part of compiling the best games with very high technique.

This is by far the best I've seen of our game. He finished the book with a good repertoire of a set of moves of which not all are original.

18. 1718 PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL.

Medula eutropelica, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Dividida en tres tratados: En el primero se ponen las Salidas más firmes, assi de mano, como de postre, defendidas por ambos lados: En el segundo otras defendidas por un lado, por no ser igualmente firmes por ambos: En el tercero se ponen cinquenta y cinco lanzes sueltos, muy provechosos para rematar con acierto los juegos. Sacala a luz un jugador incognito, aunque nombrado D. Pablo Cecina Rica, y Fergel. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, Por Blas de Villa Nueva en la calle de los Jardines, año de 1718. En 8º 4 hojas + 214 = 222 pages.

This is the first edition of the famous *Médula de Cecina Rica* which is considered the Bible of the Spanish checkers. The book is a compilation of the best openings and games collected from previously published books. In the checkers world it is known as *El Incognito*; the same is qualified as: "brings to light an incognito though named player". For that reason the name that appears on the cover is a pseudonym, his true name was Fray Gabriel de la Concepción de la Orden de la Merced de Ciudad Real. This first edition is very rare. In Spain there are only two copies - one in the National Library and mine.

19. 1725? PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL.

Medula eutropelica, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Dividida en tres tratados: En el primero se ponen las Salidas mas firmes, assi de mano, como de postre, defendidas por ambos lados: En el segundo otras defendidas por un lado, por no ser igualmente firmes por ambos: En el tercero se ponen cinquenta y cinco lanzes sueltos, muy provechosos para rematar con acierto los juegos. Sacala a luz un jugador incognito, aunque nombrado D. Pablo Cecina Rica y

Fergel. Emendado, y añadido. Reimpresso en Sevilla, en la imprenta de los Recientes, con las licencias necesarias, en calle de Génova, 223 pages.

This is the first edition from Seville. It has no year and is approximately from 1725. In the technical part there are some additions with respect to the one of Madrid, noting the influence of another damista than the author, but maintaining the name of *Cecina Rica* on the cover. It is of a rarity superior to the previous one, I only know mine. Francisco Aguilar (1984-1989) gives another reference in La Laguna (Tenerife).

20. 1740? JOSÉ PADRINO (editor).

Médula eutropelica, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Dividida en tres tratados: En el primero se ponen las Salidas mas firmes, assi de mano, como de postre, defendidas por ambos lados: En el segundo otras defendidas por un lado, por no ser igualmente firmes por ambos: En el tercero se ponen cinquenta y cinco lanzes sueltos, muy provechosos para rematar con acierto los juegos. Sacala a luz un jugador incognito. A costa de D. Joseph Padrino. Nuevamente añadidas algunas jugadas en esta ultima reimpresión, y con mas claridad la confusión de otras, para el curioso aficionado. Reimpresso en Sevilla, con las licencias necesarias, en la Imprenta de los Recientes, en calle de Genova. 231 pages

The second edition from Seville. No year, around 1740. In its title is kept the same, but the name of the original author is unknown, incorporating that of the editor JOSE PADRINO, this being the name of the book known among the checkers players. With the new and important additions it turns out to be the most complete and best book of the six Médulas. Although being rare, it's less rare than the previous two. I own a copy, but I have had four copies by luck.

21. 1759 PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL.

Medula eutropelica, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Dividida en tres tratados: En el primero se ponen las Salidas mas firmes, assi de mano, como de postre, defendidas por ambos lados: En el segundo otras defendidas por un lado, por no ser igualmente firmes por ambos: En el tercero se ponen cinquenta y cinco lanzes sueltos, muy provechosos para rematar con acierto los juegos. Sacala a luz un jugador incognito, aunque nombrado D. Pablo Cecina Rica, y Fergel. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, imprenta de Francisco Xavier Garcia. En 8° XVI + 184 pages.

This is the second edition from Madrid and the fourth chronological one. As was the case of the one by Canalejas from 1650, there are also two editions (or reeditions) that are well differentiated with the same date and with the same technical text. I distinguish the first as "the tree" by the adornment of the letter that initiates the prologue. It has the biggest difference in "Fe de Errata", being more extensive in the first one than in the second one, which proves that they were corrected. It presents a chapter of 8 pages before the prologue, which do not come in previous editions, entitled: "Openings for those who want to get rid of the 10, 11, and 12 (pieces) of this book." But I think that this addition does not belong to Cecina, but to another checkers player. Although these books are scarce, they are by far the least difficult of all that are described. There are editions at the National Library and in Victor Cantalapiedra Martin's (VCM) one.

22. 1792 JOSEF ANTONIO GARCIA

Garcia juego de Damas. Resumen del juego de damas, que se ordena a la decente, y honesta recreación del ánimo, y se logra en el prudente y moderado exercicio de esta diversion; en el qual se contienen los Juegos mas firmes de diferentes Escritores que han tratado sobre esta materia, coordinados en metodo mejor, y mas claro, y reduciendolos á las mas perfecta recopilación, y forzosas

jugadas inevitables, su autor D. Josef Antonio Garcia, dalo a la estampa su aficionado D. Bartolomé Garcia, Maestro de Primeras Letras, con aprobación del Real Consejo de Castilla, en la Parroquial de San Bartolomé de la Ciudad de Murcia, con licencia: En la misma Ciudad, en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Teruel. Año 1792. En 8º, 56 pages.

This is the first time this book has been included in a checkers bibliography. For me it is not unheard of - I have been chasing it for some time. I knew it because of "The book of the Garcías", since both the author and the publisher were called García. The book is based on the one of *Cecina Rica* discussing only the games of the best opening games as well as the best defences to it (first treatise of Cecina). He introduces an observation facilitating some study. There are only two known copies, that in the Municipal Archive of Murcia (6 pages) and the National Library. I own a copy.

23. 1798 LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Armas contra la espada y broquel de Don Pablo Cecina Rica y Fergel;Y tambien contra otros autores que han escrito del Juego de las Damas. Su autor D. Luis Soler y Rovira, Cavallero notorio, Abogado de los reales consejos, Natural y Vecino de la ciudad de Orihuela: Con las licencias necesarias: En Orihuela: Por Antonio Santa Maria, Año de 1798. 162 pages.

This first edition is very rare, only one specimen has been found in America; I only have a photocopy of the cover.

24. 1819 PABLO CECINA RICA Y FERGEL.

Medula eutropelia, calculatoria, que enseña a jugar a las Damas, con Espada y Broquel. Dividida en tres tratados: En el primero se ponen las Salidas mas firmes, assi de mano, como de postre, defendidas por ambos lados: En el segundo otras defendidas por un lado, por no ser igualmente firmes por ambos:

En el tercero se ponen cinquenta y cinco lanzes sueltos, muy provechosos para rematar con acierto los juegos. Sacala a luz un jugador incognito, aunque nombrado D. Pablo Cecina Rica, y Fergel. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, imprenta de Collado, en 8º, 184 pages.

The sixth and last edition of the *Médula* of *Cecina Rica*. The text is identical to the books from 1759. It is a regular book, I mean that it can still be found today with luck. It is in the National Library and the library of VCM.

25. 1819 LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Armas contra la espada y broquel de Don Pablo Cecina Rica y Fergel; Y tambien contra otros autores que han escrito del juego de las Damas, como manifiesta con demostraciones prácticas su Autor Don Luis Soler y Rovira. Madrid, Espinosa. En 8º mayor 23 hojas + 116 pages

The second edition of this curious work. It has a very interesting prologue of exaltation of our game and at the same time it makes a defense of the criticism that the *Médula* of *Cecina* received by the writer José Cadalso (1778).

This author shows us a new checkers lexicon, which has come to be known as “pie de gallo”, “la puntera”, “peones francos”, “si te ves apretadito daras a comer un peoncito”, “salida de trocadas de la casa nueve”, and especially the creation of his famous “Juego de Postre Toledano”, forming an “ariete” (strong defense) in the long diagonal with the piece from 27 to 23 that many damistas today put into practice.

I disagree with the criticism by Dr. Cárceles. To me it is a very original and creative and technically valuable book, responding in some way to the brave and risky title used. It is in the National Library and that of VCM.

26. 18..?? LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA

Armas contra la espada y broquel de Don Pablo Cecina Rica y Fergel; Y tambien contra otros autores que han escrito del juego de las Damas, su Autor Don Luis Soler y Rovira. Madrid: En la imprenta de Don José Espinosa. En 8º mayor 23 hojas + 116 pages.

If it were not because of some information from others, it would not be possible to determine whether this edition was published before or after the one described in number 25. The cover is of different typographic characters, omitting "with practical demonstrations", states the full name of the publisher, and does not indicate any date. Otherwise the book is the same as the previous one, not all the same, but with an identical content. It is in the possession of V.C.M.

27. 1825 LUIS SOLER Y ROVIRA.

Reglas y costumbres mejor establecidas para aprender a jugar a las damas. Rebatiendo algunas autores que han escrito sobre la materia. Reimpreso en Murcia, oficina de D. José Santa-Maria, 23 hojas, 116 pages. 1 leaf.

I observe a lot of improvisation in the office of the printers as for the title of this edition, and as it looks, it is the same as the previous ones.

28. 1838 AUTOR DESCONOCIDO

Juego de damas, Madrid, en imprenta Yenes, 22 pages.

It is an intrusive book in a bibliography of classic Spanish checkers, since it only deals with checkers on a board of 100 squares. It is in the National Library and in possession of VCM.

29. 1839 P.F.P.

Juego de las Damas. Colección general de juegos permitidos para la distracción de toda clase y condición de la sociedad, por

D.P.F. y P. Barcelona, tipografía de Juan Francisco Piferrer. Impresor de S.M. Plaza del Angel en 8º 441 pages.

The book has 36 pages dedicated to checkers. It brings the rules of the game and 55 sets of moves copied from the book of Cecina, and is very rare. It is in the National Library and in possession of VCM.

30. 1872 FRANCISCO LOZANO FRAU.

Nuevo tratado del Juego de Damas, Gabriel Sánchez, Madrid. En 8º. 60 pages.

It is a pamphlet with no more interest than an anecdotal story about the origin of the word "checkers." Otherwise the book is written from memory and intuition being about everything outside the game. It is in possession of VCM.

31. 1875 ENRIQUE MOYA Y PEREZ.

Tratado completo del Juego de Damas. Valencia, Libreria de Pascual Aquilar, Caballeros, 1, en 8º. 200 pages.

It is only a copy, poorly concealed, of *Cecina Rica* with a few, but accurate corrections. It correctly introduces the condition of always placing the white pieces in the smaller numbers of the board both in the "Salidas" (set of moves of the openings) and as "postre" (set of moves as reply). It is a very rare book. It is in the National Library and in possession of VCM.

32. 1897 E.L.C. (iniciales de un autor desconocido)

Manual del juego de damas, arreglado por nuevo método, por E.L.C. Granada. Est. Tip. de Fernando Gómez de la Cruz. 191 pages.

It is a book with a certain technical interest, so rare that not even Cárceles knew about it. There are only two copies located in the world. Ohio Public Library number 95 and the one of number 79 in possession of VCM.

33. 1900 MANUEL GRANADOS DE LOS OLMEDES
El Tablero a la Vista o Juego de Damas, Córdoba, edición de Jaime Costa. En 8º.

A book quoted by Dr. Cárceles that although it says that the copies abound, there is no news of a single one, being very rare. I have not seen any book.

34. 1897-1902 LUIS MARCOS Y EUGENIO OCHOA.
Repertorio completo de todos los juegos, impreso por Bailly Baillièrre é Hijos. Madrid. En 4º mayor 1017 pages.

This book boasts a great category and spectacular wealth in the description and information of all classes of games. However, it totally deteriorates in the chapter dedicated to draughts. Unfortunately it did not know our Spanish game and everything is based on the French and Polish draughts, mentioning feebly the book of Moya and Perez.

Neither this book, nor the one in number 28 deserve to be included on this list of Spanish Classic Draughts. I did so because it was published in Spain and in Castile.

There are editions of every year from 1897 to 1902, even some without a year. I have one from 1899. It is in the BN.

35. 1904 DR. MANUEL CARCELES SABATER.
Tratado del Juego de Damas. Madrid. Establecimiento TIP. “Sucesores de Rivadeneyra”. Impresores de la Real Casa, Paseo de San Vicente, número 20. En 4º menor. XII + 384 pages. The year 1905 figures on the outer cover and 1904 on the inside cover.

It contains a very interesting first part, versatile and valuable, with relevant historical and bibliographical data.

In one of the chapters he studied the exceptions of the "Forzosa" with a new original method called "Falsa Forzosa" in order to solve it in 12 plays, positions which the old classic method could not solve. Although the old classic method lacked very little, it did not manage to solve it. Nevertheless, in 1931, in a letter that he sent to his disciple and friend Dn. José Duran, of which I have a copy, he communicated with satisfaction that he has solved the problem and sent him the definitive solution.

The book deals only with the Real opening (10-14, 23-19), but it does so with a wealth of over 2,000 variants. It is the best book that has been written for Spanish draughts beside that of *Cecina Rica*. There are very few copies of this book.

I have information from Don Ricardo Miranda Cárceles, grandson of Don Manuel, that his grandfather left a second book to publish. Although I have shown interest in long conversations on the subject, I have so far achieved nothing, but I do not give up. Copies are scarce. It is in the National Library and in possession of VCM.

36. 1909 ENRIQUE FLAQUER.

¿Quiere Usted aprender a Jugar a las Damas? Barcelona, 4º menor. 64 pages, without date.

There is a reprint by Editorial Atlante with minimal typographic variations to the first book, as well as by Editorial F. Granada and C^a, otherwise they are identical. It highlights the originality of several problems presented in its diagram. The copies of the second one are abundant and those of the first one are scarce. It is in the BN and in possession of VCM.

37. 1930 S. PUIG (EDITOR)

Manual del Juego de Damas, Barcelona. Barbará 9. En 4º menor, 39 pages, written around 1930.

It has some interest. It is a very rare book and difficult to find. I have a copy.

38. 1940? JOSE DURÁN OLLE

Juego de Damas Español. Está dactilografiado. 333 pages.

It is a very extensive and complete treatise. It was ready to be sent to the press, but unfortunately it was not published. I have a copy that was kindly provided by his son, Don José Durán Rubiralta, as well as a copy of the letter from Don Manuel Cárcelos Sabater to Don. José Durán Ollé in 1931 rectifying the "Falsa Forzosa" of his book. During one of the two times when I spoke to him in the second half of the 60s Don José Durán said: "Not long ago I had the opportunity to tell Dr. Lafora here in Barcelona that when I was given the prize of the Terry House contest that I won" and I say this, because the Portuguese are of the opinion that they won. He also told me that he led a column of Draughts: in the newspaper "La Prensa" in Barcelona, now nonexistent, but I never saw it.

39. 1941 DR. CARLOS RODRÍGUEZ LAFORA.

Los finales del juego de damas. Gran Canarias. Manuscrito de aproximadamente 170 pages.

We are facing a typing manuscript of endgames and a very well done study of our game. His unconditional friend and admirer D. Francisco Henrique contributed to it. Lafora donated the manuscript to him, and thanks to that a copy has come to us.

He was a very active damista during his stay in La Palma at first and in Las Palmas later, where he organized the Regional Canary Championship.

He directed a weekly column in the newspaper La Provincia between 1942 and 1945, highlighting above all the International Competition of solutions of problems of "Terry Cognac" between damistas of the two Iberian nations with 90 problems in combat. The theory of "The Formations" was another of the original subjects that he published in his column.

40. 1942 FRANCISCO VINDEL

Solaces Bibliográficos. Libros de Ajedrez y Damas de los siglos XV a XVII. En 4º. Madrid. XI + 195 pages

The book has several other topics related to the old book described in the subtitle. In the part that concerns us it presents the reproduction of the covers of the old draughts books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including that of Juan Timoneda despite its rarity, with correct comments between pages 12 and 23. It is in the possession of BN and VCM.

41. 1989 JUAN TIMONEDA (1635). Reedición moderna por K.W. Kruijswijk

The contemporary author had the unfortunate idea of transcribing the imposing problems of Timoneda transposing them on an English draughts board and he also comments in the same language¹²⁸, thus disfiguring this jewel of the Spanish Ladies, a real misery. I do not recommend it to anyone. It is a deliberate contempt of the Spanish draughts. I hereby express my rejection and protest.

42. 1990-1992 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Las Damas. Ciencia sobre un tablero, Beniel, 3 volumes of 130, 105 y 115 pages.

¹²⁸ It was written in Dutch, not in English.

The author of Dutch nationality, who comes from the International Draughts, quickly adapted to our game, drank in the same sources as the Spanish damistas, and has been enthusiastic about the origin, history, and beauty of his technique as it shows in this work.

There is a conflict between the historical and the technical part in favour of the former. Otherwise everything that he presents is very versatile and pleasant.

43. 1992 GOVERT WESTERVELD

Damas Españolas.

The work consists of two volumes of 112 pages each. In the first one there are 100 shots of opening obtaining the drown of a king (Dama). In the second book there are 100 own problems with pawns only.

The author has mainly been collecting practical situations of play and others of consecrated authors, being two very profitable good study blocks.

44. 1992 JUAN TIMONEDA (1635). Reedición moderna por Govert Westerveld.

The very rare book is faithfully embodied in this reprint with its original texts and engravings.

The restless spirit of the author is aware of the questions raised by this fascinating and mysterious work, and concludes, after ten considerations, that the book is older than the date on the cover.

45. 1992 PEDRO RUIZ MONTERO (1591). Reedición moderna por Govert Westerveld.

The book begins with an interesting prelude to very sensible research considerations. It then picks up the technical part with diagrams of the most strategic situations of Pedro Ruiz Montero's

study and finally he presents the book in its original conception of the historical author, being a highly recommended book for any damista who wants to revive the 16th century draughts by the hand of the very legendary author "El Andaluz".



APPENDIX

To complete this study I present a list of relevant literary authors who have had to put in the pages of their books some chapters, some glosses, or simply some pages with quotes to our game that deserve to be considered.

1559.- FRAY FRANCISCO DE ALCOCER

Tratado del Juego. Salamanca.

1614.- ALONSO DE BONILLA

Peregrinos Pensamiento de mysterios divinos,
en varios Versos, y Glosas dificultosas. Baeza.

1626.- RODRIGO CARO

Dias geniales o lúdicos.
Hay reediciones modernas.

1789.- JOSE CADALSO

Cartas Marruecas (carta LXXVII).
Hay reediciones modernas.

1890.- JOSÉ BRUNET Y BELLET

El Ajedrez. Investigaciones sobre su origen,
Barcelona.

1928.- MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO

Contra esto y aquello.
Abundan las reediciones modernas.

1930.- FRANCISCO VINDEL (1930-34)

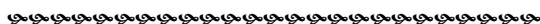
Manual gráfico descriptivo del Bibliófilo Hispano Americano,
Madrid.

1983.- MIGUEL DELIBES

Cartas de amor a un sexagenario voluptuoso. Barcelona.



**Dr. Carlos Rodriguez Lafora
with the "Cognac Terry" (1944).**



To finish this chapter we refer to three books that bear a title so significant with the name of our game, though have nothing at all to do with it.

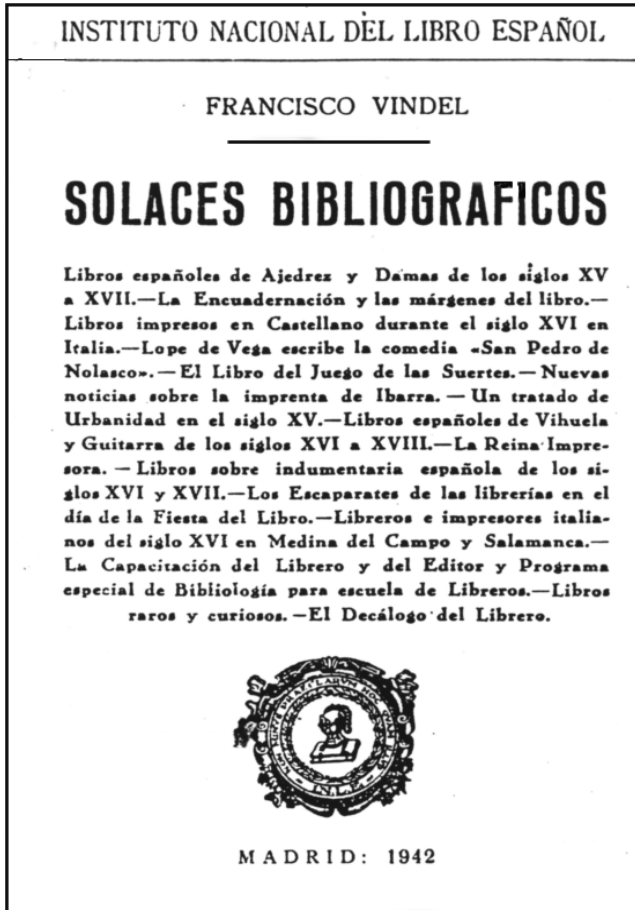
1906.- ESCUDERO, R.P.

Juego de Damas.

1960.- SAAVDROVITCH, M.

Juego de Damas, Madrid 128 pages.

1977.- MORENO-DURAN, RAFAEL UMBERTO
Juego de Damas, Barcelona 404 pages.



Francisco Vindel (1942)

There is no force as powerful as an idea whose time has come.
E. Dirkson

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- Andarraya. Juego que se hace con piezas o piedras sobre un tablero á modo del de las damas. Acad. Creo que esta voz es la aráb. At-tarraha, ár. marroquí at-tarracha, "red", por la semejanza entre la figura de sus mallas y los cuadros del tablero del juego de damas.
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